

THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE



Decoration Design Sculpture

Brussels tapestry in the 17th century | Furnishing the French embassy in London | The Baroque exhibition
Thomas Woolner's Grasmere memorial to Wordsworth | Duveen's frames for British paintings

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Tableaux anciens



Angelo Caroselli

Rome, 1585 - 1652

The Holy Family with Saint Dorothy

Oil on wood panel, 53 x 45,5 cm (20 7/8 x 17 15/16 in)

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(1552–1615)

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Oil on canvas

50.3 x 40.4 cms

An exciting re-discovery of a highly important portrait
depicting the sculptor Adriaen de Vries, Circa 1595.

To be included into the forthcoming monographic exhibition
Hans von Aachen, Court Painter in Europe

held at

The Suermondt – Ludwig – Museum, 11 March – 13 June 2010

then at Prague National Gallery

and the Kunsthistorishes Museum, Vienna

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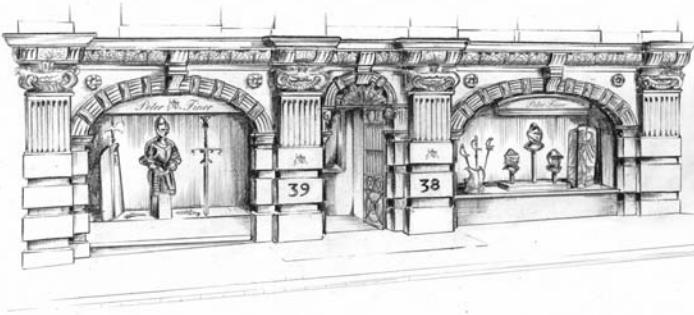
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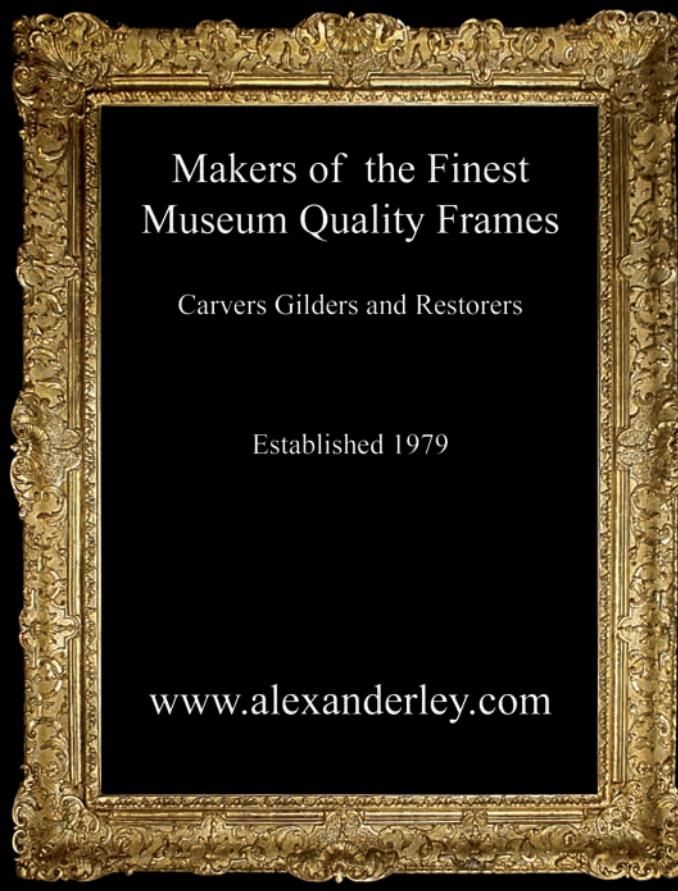
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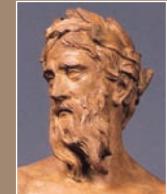
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French, circa 1815–1820

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Oil on panel
Signed and dated 1629

32½ x 22½ ins.
82 x 57.5 cm.

PIETER LASTMAN
(1583 – Amsterdam – 1633)
The Baptism of Christ

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MASTER PAINTINGS WEEK - LONDON

4-10 July 2009 | www.masterpaintingsweek.co.uk



A still life of flowers in a blue and white vase,
by Jan Brueghel the Elder
(1568–1625).
Oil on panel, 47 by 34 cm.
JOHNNY VAN HAEFTEN LTD



A kermesse or village festival (detail), by David Teniers the Younger (1610–90). Oil on canvas, 97.7 by 131.4 cm.
MICHAEL TOLLEMACHE FINE ART



The Holy Family with the infant St John the Baptist, by Bartolomeo Schedoni (1578–1615). Oil on panel, 35.5 by 25.5 cm.
AGNEW'S

THIS YEAR SEES the initiation of another dealer-led initiative in London, entitled Master Paintings Week. The format, timing and branding of the enterprise mirrors Master Drawings London. Between Saturday 4th and Friday 10th July twenty-three dealers will join forces with Sotheby's and Christie's by staging exhibitions and events in private galleries. European paintings ranging from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries will be on show, highlighting the strength and depth of scholarly expertise in this field to be found in London. Dealers are keen to welcome collectors, scholars and enthusiasts to view works and discuss discoveries, new attributions or any other aspects of the paintings on offer. Galleries with firmly established international reputations such as Agnew's and Johnny Van Haeften will be joined by the newly established dealer Fergus Hall. He will be showing predominantly Dutch and Flemish masters at Deborah Gage in Old Bond Street. Elsewhere Michael Tollemache Fine Art will be showing a recently discovered painting by David Teniers (1610–90) entitled *Village festival*. A newly attributed work by Anthony Van Dyck, *Portrait of a bearded man*, can be seen at Whitfield Fine Art.

Accompanied by a catalogue, Master Paintings Week promises to be another well-organised and exciting addition to the already flourishing summer art events in London.



Madonna and Child, St John the Baptist, St Elizabeth and St Joseph,
by Rosso Fiorentino (1494–1540). c.1513.
Oil on panel, 92 by 71.8 cm.
WHITFIELD FINE ART



The Emperor Claudius mounted on a white charger, by Giulio Romano (1499–1546). c.1536.
Oil on panel, 83 by 54 cm.
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ANTHONIE PALAMEDESZ. (Delft 1601 – 1673 Amsterdam)

A Guardroom Interior

Oil on Panel, 37.5 x 49.7 cm, Signed A. Palamedes (lower left)

Provenance: With Böhler, Lucerne, by 1949; German Private Collection

Exhibition of Dutch & Flemish Paintings

4 – 10 July 2009, Master Paintings Week

at

38 Old Bond Street, London W1S 4QW

Deborah Gage Gallery



MASTER PAINTINGS WEEK - LONDON

4-10 July 2009 | www.masterpaintingsweek.co.uk



Portrait of the sculptor Martin Desjardins (1637–94), by Hyacinthe Rigaud (1659–1743). Oil on paper laid down on canvas, 25 by 20.3 cm.
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Prometheus, by Jusepe de Ribera (1591–1652). Oil on canvas, 192.5 by 156 cm.
SOTHEBY'S



View of Parc d'Ermenonville, by Alexandre-Hyacinthe Dunouy (1757–1841). Oil on canvas, 32 by 41 cm.
BEN ELWES FINE ART



A dune landscape with travellers resting on a path, by Jan Wijnants (1631/32–84). Oil on canvas, 43 by 35 cm.
FERGUS HALL MASTER PAINTINGS



David and Bathsheba, by Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472–1553). 1534. Oil on limewood panel, 115 by 79.3 cm.
COLNAGHI



A blackberry pie, a nautilus cup, a salt cellar, a silver ewer, a roemer, a knife and knife case, all on a partly draped table, by Willem Claesz Heda (1594–1640). Oil on panel, 71.1 by 91.4 cm.
CHRISTIE'S

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Tapestry fragment of the figure of Penelope taken from the Triumph of Chastity over Love.
Brussels circa 1510, probably from cartoons created by the Van Orley studio.

Woven in wool and silk mounted on modern linen,
147 x 96 cm (58 x 38 in).

In the tapestry Penelope is shown looking towards the Triumphal chariot where Cupid is being brought down by Chastity. It was originally part of a set based on the Triumphs of Petrarch and depicted the heroes and heroines of classical literature. Cardinal Wolsey bought part of a set from the executors of the Bishop of Durham in 1523 and had two Triumphs of Chastity over Love, one of which is now exhibited at the British Library in the current exhibition on Henry VIII. The other is no longer in the collection.

There is a further fragment taken from Chastity over Love in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

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Ravenna, active by 1496 - died 1538

Kneeling Satyr

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STUDIO OF RAPHAEL, PIETRO OR PEDRO SERAFI (SERAFIN), called THE GREEK
(active Rome c.1520 and Brussels c.1530 – Barcelona 1567)

Two Soldiers, a Portion of a Tapestry Cartoon

Gouache over black chalk. Part of a larger cartoon preparatory for a tapestry *The Triumphal Procession of Scipio Africanus*.
The tapestry was part of a great cycle of 22 pieces, from designs by Giulio Romano and Gianfrancesco Penni.
Following its acquisition by Francois I, it enjoyed enormous celebrity under the name the “Great Scipio”.

14 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 9 $\frac{1}{16}$ inches. (380 x 253 mm).

Exhibiting at Master Drawings in London, The Fine Art Society, 148 New Bond Street, 4 to 10 July

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CARLE VERNET

(Bordeaux 1758 – 1836 Paris)

A Woman Wearing a Chapeau Casque and a Tablier à Fichu

Drawing in sanguine chalk. Apparently the preparatory drawing for
Plate 105 in Costumes Parisiens, Vol. II (1797–1836).

20 1/8 x 15 1/16 inches (511 x 382 mm).

Exhibiting at Master Drawings in London, The Fine Art Society, 148 New Bond Street, 4 to 10 July

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Roman Charity,
by Giovanni Francesco
Barbieri, called Guercino
(1591–1666).
Drawing in red chalk with
some stumping,
23.9 by 18.7 cm.
HILL-STONE INC.
EXHIBITING AT:
THE FINE ART SOCIETY,
148 NEW BOND STREET



Death of Seneca,
by Giovanni Battista
Tiepolo (1697–1770).
Pen and brown ink and
grey wash over black chalk,
42.8 by 28.2 cm.
SPHINX FINE ART
EXHIBITING AT:
THE GALLERY,
28 CORK STREET



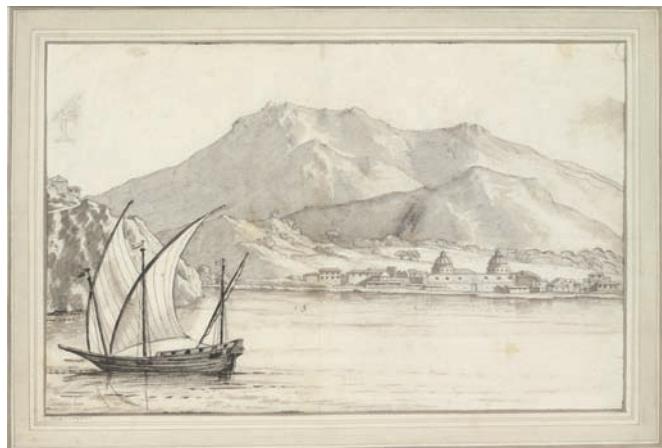
Study of angels, by Charles de La Fosse (1636–1716).
Verso: *Study of an angel*. Red and black chalks, 18.8 by 22.4 cm.
AGNEW'S, 8 GRAFTON STREET



Hector's farewell to Andromache, by Pietro Antonio Novelli (1729–1804). Signed lower left:
'Petrus Ant. Novelli / venetus pinxit / Anno MXCCLXXII'. Inscribed in the upper and
lower margin. Pen with brown and black ink and grey wash, 35.2 by 44 cm.
DIDIER AARON (LONDON) LTD, CLIFFORD HOUSE, 15 CLIFFORD STREET



By Keith Vaughan
(1912–1977).
Dated: '8/3Nov/73'.
Studio stamped verso.
Pencil, 38.0 by 30 cm.
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The Isle of Elba from the sea, by Alexander Cozens (c.1717–86).
Signed on the artist's original backing sheet. Pen and ink and grey wash
heightened with black chalk, 28 by 44.5 cm.
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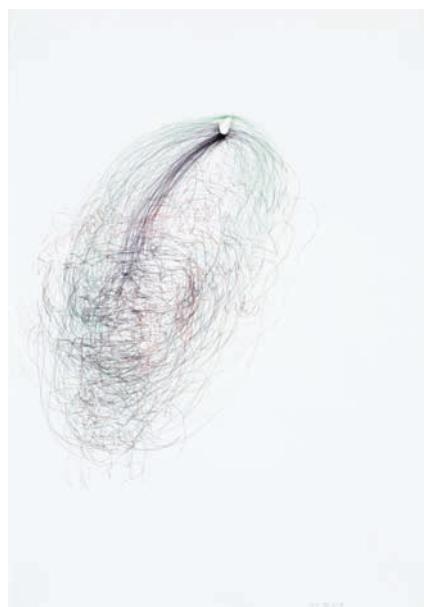
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The baptism of Christ, by
Giovanni Domenico Tiepolo
(1724–1804).
Pen and brown ink and brown
wash over black chalk,
28.8 by 19.7 cm.
KATRIN BELLINGER
AT COLNAGHI,
15 OLD BOND STREET



Head (Drawing 137),
by Claude Heath. 1995.
Signed, numbered and
dated lower right: '137
24.2.95 C HEATH'.
Coloured biro on paper,
70 by 50 cm.
TRINITY CONTEMPORARY,
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An open landscape with bright clouds and two figures, by William Callow (1812–1908).
Signed with initials: W.C. Watercolour and bodycolour, 95 by 13.3 cm.
W-S FINE ART LTD/ANDREW WYLD,
27 DOVER STREET



Death of Epaminondas, by Bartolomeo Pinelli (1781–1835). Inscribed in artist's hand: 'La
Morte di Epaminonda / Pinelli Invento e feic li 6 aprile 1812 / Noma al suo Huedio(?)
della ..ineta de Mort' (verso). Inscribed in later hand: 'Death of Epaminondas / Pinelli'
(verso). Pen and brown and grey ink and wash over black chalk heightened with white in
the artist's wash border, 61.1 by 89.6 cm.
THOMAS WILLIAMS FINE ART LTD, 22 OLD BOND STREET



Portrait of a man,
by John Linnell (1792–1882).
Verso: *Study of a young girl*.
Black chalk heightened
with white, squared in pencil,
39.8 by 28.2 cm.
EMANUEL VON BAEYER
EXHIBITING AT:
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*A mother with a child at her
breast; verso: A young woman,
seated, with a book open on her
lap*, by Girolamo Francesco
Maria Mazzola, called
Parmigianino (1503–40).
Recto and verso: Red chalk,
15.8 by 11.1 cm.
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Selected by Richard Shone, Editor of *The Burlington Magazine* and the author of many publications on modern British art, this exhibition not only offers a fascinating insight into the tastes and interests of the former lead singer of Roxy Music and internationally-known performer but is also a great opportunity to view works by some of Britain's finest artists.

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Helmet head no.3,
Henry Moore
(1898–1986).
Bronze, 29.5 cm
high.
AGNEW'S,
LONDON



Red circle and black, by Sir Terry Frost R.A. (1915–2003). 1963.
Signed, titled and dated 'May 63' on the reverse.
Oil on canvas with collage, 143.5 by 143.5 cm.
GODSON & COLES, LONDON



A pair of gold and gem-set bangles. Indian, Jaipur, nineteenth century.
Length: 20 cm. Width: 6.8 cm.
SUSAN OLLEMANS, LONDON



Lithograph of water, by David Hockney. 1980. Signed in pencil and inscribed: AP IX.
Lithograph printed in colors, 75.4 by 87.7 cm.
SIMS REED, LONDON



White lilies,
by Samuel Peploe
(1871–1935). c.1926.
Signed 'S J Peploe'.
at lower right.
Oil on canvas,
61 by 51 cm.
**THE FINE ART
SOCIETY, LONDON**



An early eighteenth-century
red japanned cabinet on a
Regency gilt stand carved to
simulate an early eighteenth-
century stand.
English, cabinet c.1730;
stand c.1820.
Height: 182 cm.
Width: 106 cm.
Depth: 55 cm.
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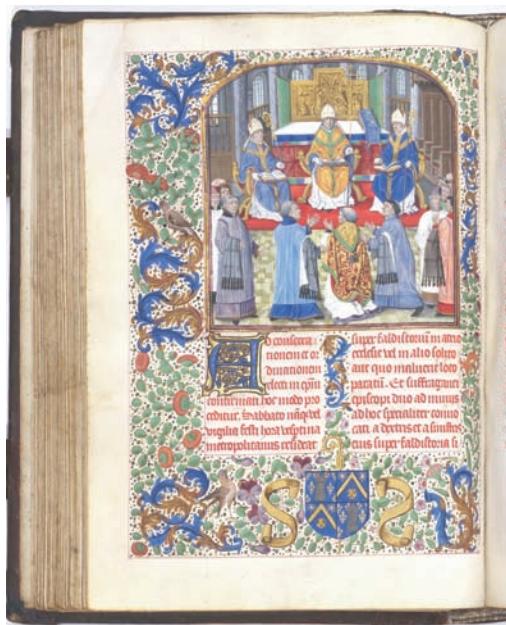
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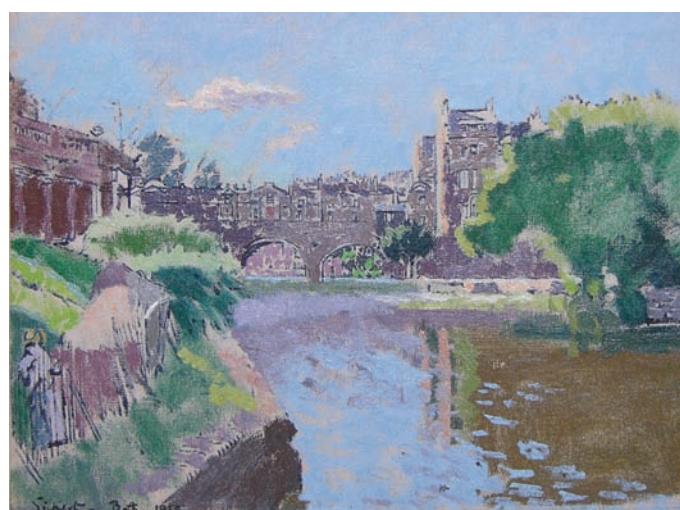
The Pontifical of
Ferry de Clugny,
Bishop of Tournai.
Illuminated by
Loiset Liédet and
Lieven van Lathem.
Bruges, c.1475–76.
On vellum,
30.5 by 22.4 cm.
JÖRN GÜNTHER
RARE BOOKS,
HAMBURG



Illustrated letter to Albert Hecht,
with a still-life of plums and
cherries, by Edouard Manet
(1832–83). Watercolour, with
writing in pen and brown ink,
24.5 by 15.6 cm.
STEPHEN ONGPIN FINE ART,
LONDON



A silver-gilt royal presentation tray. London, 1805.
Maker's mark of Digby Scott & Benjamin Smith.
Length (across handles): 75 cm. Width: 55 cm. Weight: 250.5 ounces.
KOOPMAN RARE ART, LONDON



Pulteney Bridge, Bath, by Walter Richard Sickert (1860–1942).
Signed, inscribed and dated 1918. Oil on canvas, 25.4 by 30 cm.
AGNEW'S, LONDON



An alabaster relief of
the Gates of Heaven.
15th century.
Nottingham
Alabaster.
Height: 30.5 cm.
RICHARD PHILP,
LONDON



Portrait of a lady, by
Joseph Wright of Derby
(1734–97). c.1760.
Oil on Canvas,
76 by 64.5 cm.
PHILIP MOULD
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PORTRAITS, LONDON

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*Lapis ~ Lazuli, Stones, and Minerals - ;
in the Museum of Natural History at Paris.*

JAMES FORBES

1749 – 1819

Lapis Lazuli

Original mount by the artist. Bodycolour with gold on paper.

Height: 27.5 cm. Width: 31 cm.

A great traveller and explorer, James Forbes sojourned in France several times; in the vicinity of Paris in 1803 (producing views of Malmaison and La Vallée aux Loups), and in Burgundy in 1817. Some of his watercolours were engraved by Frederick Christian Lewis and published in Forbes's *Letters from France* (London 1806). The artist also travelled in the Orient.

Lapis Lazuli was made in 1816–17 at the Museum d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris, and mounted by Forbes himself.

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VOLUME CLI • NUMBER 1275 • JUNE 2009

EDITORIAL

359 Art History Reviewed

ARTICLES

360 Matthijs Roelandts, Joris Leemans and Lanceloot Lefebure: new data on Baroque tapestry in Brussels
by KOENRAAD BROSENS and VEERLE DE LAET

367 The Baroque exhibition in London
by SIMON SWYNFEN JERVIS

372 Souvenirs of an embassy: the comte d'Adhémar in London 1783–87
by CHRISTIAN BAULEZ

382 Thomas Woolner's Wordsworth Memorial, 1851:
Pre-Raphaelite sources and slips
by ANNE NEALE

388 Duveen's French frames for British pictures
by NICHOLAS PENNY and KAREN SERRES

394 Recent acquisitions of glass sculpture at the Glasmuseum Henrich Düsseldorf
by DEDO VON KERSSENBROCK-KROSIGK

ART HISTORY REVIEWED I

396 Emile Mâle's 'L'art religieux du XIIIe siècle en France. Etude sur l'iconographie du moyen âge et sur ses sources d'inspiration', 1898
by ALEXANDRA GAJEWSKI

BOOKS

400 Kalenderhane in Istanbul. The buildings, their history, architecture and decoration, C.L. Striker and Y. Doğan Kuban, eds.
Kalenderhane in Istanbul. The excavations. Final report on the archaeological exploration and restoration at the Kalenderhane Camii, 1966–78, C.L. Striker and Y. Doğan Kuban, eds.
by J.M. ROGERS

400 Crown and Veil: female monasticism from the fifth to fifteenth centuries, J.F. Hamburger and S. Marti, eds.
by MEGHAN CALLAHAN

401 Medioevo/Medioevi: Un secolo di esposizioni d'arte medievale, E. Castelnuovo and A. Monciatti, eds.
by WILLIBALD SAUERLÄNDER

402 European Tapestries in the Art Institute of Chicago, K. Brosens et al.
by CANDACE J. ADELSON

403 Fra Angelico, D. Cole Ahl
by LAURENCE KANTER

404 English Embroidery from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1580–1700: 'Twixt Art and Nature', A. Morrall and M. Watt, eds.
by LISA MONNAS

405 Medici Gardens: from Making to Design, R. Fabiani Giannetto

A History of the Gardens of Versailles, M. Baridon
by TODD LONGSTAFFE-GOWAN



p.368

406 French furniture and gilt bronzes, Baroque and Régence, Catalogue of the J. Paul Getty Museum collection, G. Wilson et al.

by REINIER BAARSEN

407 The Ewers–Tyne Collection of Worcester Porcelain at Cheekwood, J. Sandon

by JULIA POOLE

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED



p.375



p.423



p.411



p.426

EXHIBITIONS

409 Shah 'Abbas
by TIM STANLEY

411 Cassoni
by ROBERTA BARTOLI

412 George Scharf's London
by GILLIAN DARLEY

414 Recent exhibitions
by NICHOLAS CULLINAN

415 Thomas Roberts
by PHILIP McEVANSONEYA

416 The Della Robbia
by NICOLETTA BALDINI

417 Fra Angelico
by ANNE LEADER

419 The Pre-Raphaelites
by ANDREW WILTON

420 Martin Kippenberger
by JOHN-PAUL STONARD

422 Contemporary drawings at MoMA
by MORGAN FALCONER

424 Judd; Irwin; Oursler
by JAMES LAWRENCE

425 Yves Saint Laurent
by LYNNE COOKE

CALENDAR

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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VOLUME CLI • NUMBER 1275 • JUNE 2009

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Rest of the world £244/€345

Subscription & Advertising Enquiries:

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US mailing agent: Mercury Airfreight International Ltd,
365 Blair Road, Avenel, New Jersey 07001.
Periodicals postage paid at Rahway, NJ

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Editorial

Art History Reviewed

THIS MONTH'S ISSUE of the *Burlington* publishes the first in a series of articles that re-review a selection of the most influential contributions to art history published in the twentieth century. A precedent of sorts was established at an earlier period in the Magazine by a series on art historians and art critics of the past. The dozen or so articles came out intermittently between 1952 and 1975, an eclectic selection with little sense of order but which included Anita Brookner's notable essay on Baudelaire (1964) and studies of other, mostly nineteenth-century figures such as Stendhal, Thoré, Zola and Riegl. *Art History Reviewed* is more specific and, we hope, better regulated: the majority of articles will appear in a sequence ordered by the date of publication of the books under review. Thus we begin this month with Emile Mâle's great work on French ecclesiastical art and architecture with its profound implications for iconography and methodology, published two years before the turn of the century and well known through many subsequent editions and translations. Postponing for the moment Bernard Berenson's *Drawings of the Florentine Painters* (1903), an article to be published later in the year to coincide with the fiftieth anniversary of Berenson's death, we follow Mâle with a consideration of Heinrich Wölfflin's *Principles of Art History* of 1915. The series will comprise eighteen contributions, closing with some significant publications from the 1980s.

Art History Reviewed has been long in gestation and the list of selected texts has seen numerous changes. Some books were immediately obvious candidates; others, a little more marginal, have been included for the questions they raise about changing attitudes to art and art history. The provision of variety has been a pressing factor in our choice as, of course, has the commissioning of compatible authors. The series covers painting, drawing, sculpture, architecture and design, from the minutiae of connoisseurship to the broader canvas of theory and aesthetics. But, no matter how varied our choice, we can safely say that all the chosen books are characterised by passionate engagement and lucid style and are inflected by the sharp sapid of didactic or polemical intent.

However, there are bound to be reproaches at our final choice: why on earth that book and not this one? An early consideration was to chose texts that are still easily available; another was to cover a wide range in the genre of art-historical writing; and a further one was that the books in question are still referred to and cited (if not always read) and are likely to be consulted by students of art history at various levels. While some of the chosen books have remained current within the confines of the discipline, others such as Kenneth Clark's *The Nude* (1956) or Nikolaus Pevsner's *Pioneers of the Modern Movement* (1936; familiar from its re-issue as *Pioneers of Modern Design*)

reached a wide non-specialist readership. On occasion we have chosen a less obvious title to reconsider – some may have preferred Roger Fry's *Vision and Design*, with its greater breadth of topics, to the highly concentrated *Cézanne: a study of his development*; and, while Gombrich's *The Story of Art* is a brilliant exposition of a particular art-historical approach as well as being a publishing phenomenon, *Art and Illusion* has been more profoundly influential.

A further objection to our choice may be that we have not included contributions to the subject that have taken the form of an article or a substantial review. One thinks of crucial essays such as Erwin Panofsky on the Arnolfini portrait (1934) or Rosalind Krauss's 'Sculpture in the Expanded Field' (1978). In certain cases the books under consideration are indeed anthologies of such material, although often much reworked. In defence of this restriction, it may be said that a book's reach is always made greater from the fact that it has been translated into various languages (as have all the books we have selected), while articles, unless anthologised, are invariably not.

It is hoped that as the series progresses, more general patterns of the historiography of art during the twentieth century will emerge. The more recently developed contrast between art history as documentary scholarship and as interdisciplinary theory may be set in the broader context of the factual, biographical and interpretative approaches to the subject, which marked its nineteenth-century origins. The story is also one of a European tradition (largely Central European) that was transformed as a discipline by its journey West, a voyage gaining in momentum from the intellectual diaspora of the 1930s and 1940s, and carried forward by swelling numbers of professionally varied participants. It is frequently said that the intellectual and theoretical development of art history, with its now complex methodologies, has come about at the expense of an intimate and confident engagement with the objects of study (although in practice such a division is perhaps never as extreme as it might appear). Students more than any others may feel obliged to read the latest books on certain topics in order not to appear out of touch with the intellectual climate and thereby miss the opportunity to grasp where these theories originated and to understand how much the subject has changed. Books intended as introductory guides, invaluable as they may be, tend to focus on particular themes and approaches, privileging literature that is immediately relevant over many important but momentarily unfashionable books. These can so easily fall by the wayside. For these reasons at least, it is timely to reconsider some of those books that, during the past century, have helped to define the field of art history and have influenced, directly or through example, our multi-layered responses to works of art.

Matthijs Roelandts, Joris Leemans and Lanceloot Lefebure: new data on Baroque tapestry in Brussels

by KOENRAAD BROSENS and VEERLE DE LAET

SINCE THE 1990S, there has been much interest in seventeenth-century Brussels tapestry.¹ Unsurprisingly, much attention has been paid to the many series designed by artists such as Peter Paul Rubens,² Jacob Jordaens,³ Charles Poerson⁴ and Charles Le Brun.⁵ However, less-renowned artists and series have also been included in this renewal of interest,⁶ as well as workshop managers, their entrepreneurial strategies and the organisation of tapestry production.⁷ These studies shed new light on the complex dynamics that shaped the industry and blur the traditional distinction between the ‘fine’ and ‘decorative’ arts. But our understanding of seventeenth-century Brussels tapestry remains fragmentary. Basic biographical information on *tapissiers* is often missing, and critical attention is mostly focused on the handful of well-known painters who were involved, at the expense of a substantial number of lesser-known artists and series. *The story of Constantine* and *The inclinations of Man* series, produced by the obscure workshop managers Matthijs Roelandts and Joris Leemans, are a case in point. Editions and tapestries of both sets have rarely received scholarly attention and at best are loosely linked to the Brussels tapestry designer Antoon Sallaert (1594–1650).⁸ Newly discovered archival documents now allow us to identify Roelandts and Leemans as significant tapestry producers and to attribute their *Constantine* and *Inclinations* series to Lanceloot Lefebure (Lefebvre, Lefèvre), a Brussels-based painter who, in 1650, at the age of sixty-five, was praised by the Brussels *tapissiers* for his designs but has since been overlooked.

Biographical and genealogical data on Roelandts and Leemans, who frequently collaborated, is scarce.⁹ Roelandts’s life has

traditionally been summarised in no more than four dates. In 1648 he was granted tax relief from the Brussels city administration on the grounds of being an important tapestry producer; in 1657 he was one of the co-founders of the Brussels *tapissierspand* (the building where tapestries were sold); in 1661 he was dean of the tapestry guild; and in 1663 he died. Leemans’s life is even more obscure. A native of Enghien, he became a citizen of Brussels in 1638 and was dean of the tapestry guild in 1665. It has been claimed that he died between 19th February and 29th August 1671.¹⁰ After his death, the workshop was continued by, successively, his widow, Elisabeth Segers, and by Jacob van der Borcht (c.1650–c.1710), who is believed to have been Segers’s cousin.¹¹

New evidence allows us to fill the gaps in Roelandts’s and Leemans’s biographies. Roelandts was born to Catharina de Ridder and Maarten Roelandts¹² and was baptised on 31st March 1602.¹³ His father (born 1570)¹⁴ was appointed as ‘segelaer’ (keeper of the seal) in 1622,¹⁵ and in this capacity he had to oversee the quality control of all tapestries that were marketed in Brussels. Maarten appears to have died between 1622 and 1633.¹⁶

Matthijs Roelandts married Johanna de Pot in 1627,¹⁷ and their first child, Willem, was born a year later.¹⁸ Willem died in infancy, for a second son bearing the same name was baptised in 1630.¹⁹ A third son, Bernardus (born 1633),²⁰ was the godson of Bernardus Leyniers, a member of the Leyniers dynasty, which was omnipresent in the Brussels tapestry industry in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.²¹ In 1634 Roelandts’s first daughter, Johanna Maria, was born.²² Her godmother was Johanna Bexij, the wife of the eminent tapestry producer Jan II

This article originated within the Research Group PALET: *Schilderkunst in Interdisciplinair Perspectief* chaired by Katlijne van der Stighelen (University of Leuven). We would like to thank Guy Delmarcel for his remarks and suggestions.

¹ For a recent concise survey of seventeenth-century Brussels (and Flemish) tapestry, see T.P. Campbell: ‘New Centers of Production and the Recovery of the Netherlandish Tapestry Industry, 1600–1620’, in *idem*, ed.: exh. cat. *Threads of Splendor. Tapestry in the Baroque*, New York (Metropolitan Museum of Art) and Madrid (Palacio Real) 2007–08, pp.61–75; G. Delmarcel: ‘Tapestry in the Spanish Netherlands, 1625–60’, in *ibid.*, pp.203–17; and K. Brosens: ‘Flemish Production, 1660–1715’, in *ibid.*, pp.441–53.

² G. Delmarcel *et al.*, eds.: exh. cat. *Rubenstextiel/Rubens’s Textiles*, Antwerp (Hessenhuys) 1997; and F. Lammertse *et al.*, eds.: exh. cat. *Peter Paul Rubens: Het Leven van Achilles*, Rotterdam (Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen) and Madrid (Museo nacional del Prado) 2003.

³ K. Nelson: *Jacob Jordaens: Design for Tapestry*, Turnhout 1998; and K. Brosens: ‘“The Story of Theodosius the Younger”: a rediscovered tapestry set by Jacob Jordaens and his studio’, THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE 149 (2007), pp.376–82.

⁴ N. de Reyniès: ‘Charles Poerson et la tapisserie’, in B. Brejon de Lavergnée *et al.*, eds.: exh. cat. *Charles Poerson 1609–1667*, Metz (Musées de la Cour d’Or) 1997, pp.107–39 and 171–93; K. Brosens: ‘Nouvelles données sur l’Histoire de Cléopâtre de Poerson. Le réseau Parent et la tapisserie bruxelloise à la française’, *Revue belge d’Archéologie et d’Histoire de l’Art* 74 (2005), pp.63–77; *idem*: Bruxelles/Paris/Bruxelles. Charles de La Fontaine et la diffusion des modèles des tapisseries de Charles Poerson à Bruxelles, 1650–1675’, *ibid.* 76 (2007), pp.43–60.

⁵ *Idem*: ‘Charles Le Brun’s “Meleager and Atalanta” and Brussels Tapestry c.1675’, *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 11 (2003–04), pp.5–37.

⁶ See, for example, M. García Calvo: ‘Colección de tapices de la Catedral de

Sigüenza’, *Goya* 301–02 (2004), pp.215–28; G. Delmarcel: ‘De Antwerpse schilder Pieter van Lint (1609–90) als ontwerper van wandtapijten. Een bijdrage’, in K. van der Stighelen, ed.: *Munuscula Amicorum. Contributions on Rubens and his Colleagues in Honour of Hans Vlieghe*, Turnhout 2006, II, pp.577–89.

⁷ K. Brosens: ‘The organisation of seventeenth-century tapestry production in Brussels and Paris. A comparative view’, *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 20 (2004), pp.264–84; *idem*: ‘Les maisons et les ateliers des tapissiers bruxellois aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles: un premier aperçu’, in J. Gribenski *et al.*, eds.: *La maison de l’artiste. Construction d’un espace de représentations entre réalité et imaginaire (XVIIe–XXe siècles)*, Rennes 2007, pp.133–41; and K. Brosens: ‘New Light on the Brussels Raes Workshop and Rubens’s Achilles Series’, in T.P. Campbell, ed.: *Threads of Splendor: Tapestry in the Baroque. Proceedings of the Symposium* [forthcoming].

⁸ N. Forti Grazzini: *Arazzi a Milano. Le serie fiamminghe del Museo della Basilica di Sant’Ambrogio*, Milan 1988, pp.29–30; M. Swain: *Tapestries and Textiles at the Palace of Holyroodhouse*, London 1988, pp.38–39; and G. Delmarcel: *Het Vlaamse wandtapijt*, Tiel 1999, pp.367 and 369. Sallaert’s year of birth is usually given as between 1580 and 1590, but as early as 1968 it was demonstrated that Sallaert was baptised in 1594; R. d’Anethan: ‘Les Salaert dits de Doncker’, *Brabantica* 9 (1968), p.254.

⁹ Delmarcel, *op. cit.* (note 8), p.367.

¹⁰ K. Brosens: *A contextual study of Brussels tapestry, 1670–1770. The dye works and tapestry workshop of Urbanus Leyniers (1674–1747)*, Brussels 2004, p.72, note 308.

¹¹ Delmarcel, *op. cit.* (note 8), p.367.

¹² They married in 1600; Brussels, Stadsarchief (hereafter cited as SAB), Parish records (hereafter cited as PR), vol.129, fol.72r, 4th June 1600. In 1608, a second son, Jan, was born; SAB, PR, vol.82, fol.153r, 8th January 1608.

¹³ SAB, PR, vol.81, fol.4r, 31st March 1602.

¹⁴ SAB, PR, vol.74, fol.160, 24th October 1570. His father was Christiaan

Raes (1602–39).²³ In the 1630s Roelandts thus forged alliances with other families involved in the industry and adopted a well-established strategy that allowed Brussels tapestry producers and workshop managers to secure and control their position on the Brussels and European tapestry markets.²⁴

In 1648 Roelandts filed an application for tax relief with the city administration,²⁵ stating that he had been registered as a master in the tapestry guild between c. 1625 and 1630. He further says that he operated with five looms and that he subcontracted the production of tapestries to other *tapissiers*, which means that he was an important producer. Interestingly, Roelandts's application also shows that before its submission he had commissioned the cartoons of at least four sets: 'Genoeghen des menschen' (*Inclinations of Man*), 'Constantinus Magnus' (*Constantine the Great*), 'Jachten' (*Hunts*) and 'Bosschagien' (*Woodland scenes*). Since Roelandts's career as a tapestry producer started c. 1625–30, the designs of these four series can be dated between then and 1648. Unfortunately, the document fails to cite the designers' names.

In 1657 Roelandts, as dean or '*ouderman*' (former dean) of the tapestry guild, supported the establishment of a *tapissierspand* in Brussels.²⁶ He died in 1663,²⁷ his widow in 1674²⁸ and the workshop was continued by their son Willem,²⁹ but he seems to have been less successful than his father: he was never granted tax relief by the city administration and in 1676/77 was listed as one of the subcontractors of Jan-François van den Hecke (1638–1710).³⁰

Joris Leemans, who had settled in Brussels in 1638, married Elisabeth Segers in 1640,³¹ and must therefore have been born c. 1620 at the latest. They had one daughter, Francisca (born 1641).³² In 1657 Leemans was listed among the deans and former deans of the Brussels tapestry guild, together with Roelandts.³³ Five years later, Leemans and Segers drew up their will,³⁴ a document that reveals that Segers had been married to Antoon van der Borcht before her marriage to Leemans and that she was the mother of Jacob van der Borcht – rather than his aunt as has been traditionally assumed.³⁵ Consequently, Jacob van der Borcht's approximate date of birth has to be shifted from c. 1650 to in or before 1640.³⁶

The assumption that Leemans was dean of the tapestry guild and thus still alive in 1665,³⁷ is based on the application for tax

Roelandts; the name of his mother is not recorded in the entry, nor in that concerning Matthijs Roelandts's older twin sisters, Elisabeth and Anna, who were baptised in 1569; SAB, PR, vol.74, fol.53, 2nd October 1569. One Christiaan Roelandts baptised three children in the same parish in the 1590s (SAB, PR, vol.74, fol.36, 27th December 1590; vol.78, fol.198, 15th February 1593; and vol.79, fol.347, 5th November 1598), but it remains uncertain whether this Christiaan can be identified as Maarten Roelandts's father.

²³ A. Wauters: *Les tapissieries bruxelloises*, Brussels 1878, p.211.

²⁴ The funeral presumably took place in his parish church (Sint-Goedele), but this church's parish records for the period 1622–33 were not preserved. In parish records after 1633, Maarten Roelandts is not mentioned – nor, for that matter, in other documents.

²⁵ SAB, PR, vol.132, fol.140r, 9th October 1627.

²⁶ SAB, PR, vol.87, fol.230v, 4th August 1628.

²⁷ SAB, PR, vol.88, fol.71r, 6th May 1630.

²⁸ SAB, PR, vol.88, fol.202v, 11th January 1633.

²⁹ Possibly Bernardus Leyniers can be identified as the second son of *tapissier* Gillis Leyniers (1579–1666); see M. Vanwelkenhuyzen and P. de Tienne: 'Une famille de tapissiers bruxellois, les Leyniers (suite)', *L'intermédiaire des généalogistes/De middelaar tussen de genealogische navorsers* 44 (1989), p.154.

³⁰ SAB, PR, vol.89, fol.82r, 19th November 1634.

³¹ See Brosens [forthcoming], *op. cit.* (note 7).

³² *Idem*: 'New data on Albert Auwercx. Toward a conceptual framework of the entrepreneurial strategies devised by Brussels tapestry producers, 1600–1700', *ibid.* [forthcoming].

³³ SAB, Register der Tresorje (hereafter cited as RT), vol.1295, fols.58v–60r.

³⁴ Wauters, *op. cit.* (note 15), p.231. For the *tapissierspand*, see Brosens 2005, *op. cit.*

relief filed by Erasmus III de Pannemaker (born 1627), which was supported by Leemans.³⁸ However, careful reading of the document shows that Leemans was not one of the deans (these were Jan Cordys, Marcus de Vos, Jasper van der Bruggen and Leonard Wyns). Moreover, the application was approved and recorded in the 'Registers der Tresorje' (Records of the Treasury) on 3rd March 1665, but De Pannemaker had actually filed it on 15th November 1663. In the absence of a later document mentioning Leemans, the *terminus post quem* for Leemans's death should be moved back from 3rd March 1665 to 15th November 1663. Leemans died before 31st January 1667, because on that day the *tapissier* Jan de Clerck (died 1672) rented a house and a tapestry workshop situated 'across from the house of [tapissier] Hendrik Reydams' ('tegen over den huijse van sr. Hendrick Redams') from Elisabeth Segers, 'widow of the late Joris Leemans' ('weduwe wijlen sr. Joris Leemans'), for a second period of six years.³⁹ Unfortunately, at Leemans's parish church, death records before 4th September 1668 were not preserved, making it impossible to establish the exact date of his death.

Leemans's new approximate date of death (between 15th November 1663 and 31st January 1667) has a far-reaching methodological implication. Indeed, the erroneous *post quem* of 19th February 1671⁴⁰ was based on one of a group of documents from which biographical data are frequently drawn, i.e. the applications for tax relief filed by the *tapissiers*. These applications, along with formal approval, were recorded in the Treasury Records. On 19th February 1671 the Brussels dyer Gaspar Leyniers (1634–1703) submitted an application that was accompanied by a document signed by twelve tapestry producers, including Joris Leemans – hence the *post quem* of 1671.⁴¹ The new archival data, however, reveals that the declaration of support must have been recorded before 31st January 1667. Hence the document used by Leyniers was not a recent one. This suggests that the application filed by Leyniers in 1671 was not his first attempt to obtain tax relief and that previous efforts had been unsuccessful. Logically, rejected applications were not preserved in the Treasury Records because they did not affect the city finances. This means that the supporters mentioned in the

(note 4), pp.71–73. In 1660, Roelandts supported the application for tax relief filed by Peter Kint; SAB, RT, vol.1298, 23rd October 1660.

²⁷ SAB, PR, vol.157, fol.13v, 30th March 1663. A few weeks later, on 26th May 1663, the city council awarded the available tax privileges to Daniel Abelos (died 1674); SAB, RT, vol.1298, fol.497v–98v; Wauters, *op. cit.* (note 15), p.341.

²⁸ SAB, PR, vol.158, fol.152v, 27th April 1674.

²⁹ His productions include an edition of Jacob Jordaeus's *Charlemagne* series (Palazzo Quirinale, Rome) in collaboration with Joris Leemans, Jan van Leefdael (1603–68), Hendrik de Putter (died c. 1665) and Jan Cordys (died in or before 1680); N. Forti Grazzini: *Gli arazzi (Il patrimonio artistico del Quirinale)*, Rome 1994, I, pp.311–28; and Nelson, *op. cit.* (note 3), pp.43–45 and 134–43.

³⁰ Wauters, *op. cit.* (note 15), p.309.

³¹ SAB, PR, vol.275, fol.116r, 16th September 1640.

³² SAB, PR, vol.253, fol.23v, 28th November 1641.

³³ Wauters, *op. cit.* (note 15), p.231.

³⁴ Brussels, Algemeen Rijksarchief (hereafter cited as ARAB), Notariaat Generaal van Brabant (hereafter cited as NGB), vol.4440, 27th June 1662.

³⁵ Brosens, *op. cit.* (note 10), p.344, already suggested that Segers may have been Van der Borcht's mother, but evidence supporting this assumption was not yet available.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Wauters, *op. cit.* (note 15), p.341.

³⁸ SAB, RT, vol.1299, fols. 281v–82r.

³⁹ ARAB, NGB, vol.4449, 31st January 1667. For De Clerck, see Brosens 2005, *op. cit.* (note 4), p.69.

⁴⁰ *Idem*, *op. cit.* (note 10), p.72, note 308.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp.184–85. A photograph of the document, showing the signatures of the twelve producers, was included in Brosens 2004, *op. cit.* (note 7), p.283.



1. *Minerva: Art has no enemies, except for Ignorance*, by the workshop of Matthijs Roelandts or Joris Leemans after a design by Lanceloot Lefebure. c.1650. Wool and silk, 350 by 328 cm. (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna).



2. *Cupid: he who does not meddle with Amor does not get hurt by his arrows*, by the workshop of Joris Leemans after a design by Lanceloot Lefebure. c.1650. Wool and silk, 346 by 334 cm. (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna).

records when the privilege was granted were not necessarily alive at that time. Consequently, biographical data retrieved from the Treasury Records must be more thoroughly scrutinised.⁴²

The widowed Elisabeth Leemans died in 1676,⁴³ and a probate inventory of her possessions shows that two *Charlemagne* tapestries after Jordaens and three *Inclinations of Man* tapestries were kept in the Brussels *tapisseriespand*.⁴⁴ The workshop contained two dismantled and three operational looms. The latter were bought by her son Jacob van der Borcht. Several border designs and two sets of cartoons depicting 'groenwerck' (landscapes and woodland scenes) were also recorded in the inventory. One 'groenwerck' series was attributed to the Brussels landscape painter Lodewijk de Vadder (1605–55), who received tax relief in 1644 on the grounds of being an important tapestry designer.⁴⁵ The other 'groenwerck' series was created by 'Verschueren', presumably a member of the Verschueren family of painters who worked in the city of Mechelen between 1570 and 1650.⁴⁶

⁴² In this way, 'Hendrik Reydams', who was one of the supporters, was identified as Hendrik II Reydams (1650–1719); Brosens, *op. cit.* (note 10), p.335, but in view of the revised dating of the declaration of support it is more probable that the latter's father, Hendrik I Reydams (c.1610–69), supported Leyniers's application.

⁴³ SAB, PR, vol.286, fol.66r, 8th September 1676. Four days after the funeral, her son Jacob van der Borcht applied for tax relief; SAB, RT, vol.1301, fols.186r–87r, 1st October 1676. In his application, Van der Borcht claimed that he and his mother had co-directed the Leemans workshop after his stepfather's death.

⁴⁴ ARAB, NGB, microfilm 782292.

⁴⁵ SAB, RT, vol.1293, fols.316v–17v, 27th February 1644. For De Vadder, see E. de Callatay: 'Etudes sur les paysagistes bruxellois du XVIIe siècle', *Revue belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art* 29 (1960), pp.155–70; D. Coekelberghs: 'Contribution à l'étude du paysage italienisant flamand et hollandais au XVIIe siècle: œuvres inédites de A. Goubaux, L. De Vadder, J. Both', *Revue des archéologues et historiens d'art de Louvain* 2 (1969), pp.109–14; and Y. Thiéry and M. Kervyn de Meerendre: *Les peintres flamands de paysage au XVIIe siècle. La baroque anversois et l'école bruxelloise*, Brussels 1987, pp.113–24.

⁴⁶ E. Neefs: *Histoire de la peinture et de la sculpture à Malines*, Ghent 1876, I, pp.440–41. ⁴⁷ Brosens, *op. cit.* (note 10), pp.70–74.

⁴⁸ Wauters, *op. cit.* (note 15), pp.250 and 342. For the application, see SAB, RT,

vol.1295, fols.367v–68r, 21st July 1650.

Finally, 'four cartoons of the story of Constantine painted by one N. Lefebure' ('vier stukken patroonen vande historie van Constantinus geschildert van sekeren N. Lefebre') and 'four pieces of the inclinations of man painted by the Lefebure mentioned above' ('vier stukken van het genueg vande mensche vande voorscr le fevre geschildert') were also found in the workshop. These sets were also cited in Roelandts's application for tax relief filed in 1648. Segers's inventory reveals that Roelandts and Leemans jointly owned the cartoons of both series – standard practice in the seventeenth century.⁴⁷ If it is assumed that Joris Leemans had co-financed the commission of the cartoons, they might be dated between 1638 (when Leemans settled in Brussels) and 1648 (when the cartoons were cited in Roelandts's application). Yet it is also possible that the cartoons had been made before 1638 and that Leemans acquired a stake after moving to Brussels.

Segers's inventory reveals Lanceloot Lefebure as the tapestry designer of the *Constantine* and *Inclinations* series. Lefebure was

⁴⁹ SAB, PR, vol.274, fol.19v, 14th August 1608.

⁵⁰ A. Pinchart: 'La corporation des peintres de Bruxelles', *Messager des Sciences Historiques ou Archives des Arts et de la Bibliographie de Belgique* (1877), p.300.

⁵¹ Lefebure is not mentioned in J. Caluwaerts: *Poorters van Brussel/Bourgeois de Bruxelles, 1350–1795. II: 1601–1695*, Leuven 2005, but this book is incomplete. However, Charles Lefebure, 'peintre', is mentioned in a document from the Mechelen archives, recorded in 1574; Neeffs, *op. cit.* (note 46), p.323.

⁵² SAB, PR, vol.275, fol.35v, 18th June 1637.

⁵³ E. van Autenboer: 'Nota's over de Mechelse waterverfchilders', *Mechelse bijdragen. Tijdschrift van de Mechelse kring voor oudheidkunde, geschiedenis en folklore* 11 (1949), pp.33–44.

⁵⁴ Pinchart, *op. cit.* (note 50), pp.300, 303, 309, 313–16, 320, 321, 324 and 327.

⁵⁵ SAB, RT, vol.1293, fols.129r–30v.

⁵⁶ E. Duverger: 'Patronen voor tapijtwerk in het sterfhuis van François van den Hecke', *Artes Textiles* 10 (1981), p.228. For the various sixteenth-century Jacob series woven in Brussels, see M. Crick-Kuntziger: *La tenture de l'Histoire de Jacob*, Antwerp 1954; B. Joos: 'De wandtapijten met de Geschiedenis van Jakob. Een verborgen signatuur van Bernard van Orley', *Bulletin des Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* 56

mentioned in Alphonse Wauters's pioneering *Les tapisseries bruxelloises* (1878) as a designer who at the age of sixty-five was granted tax relief by the town council in 1650, at the request of the Brussels *tapissiers*.⁴⁸ Just like Leemans and Roelandts, Lefebure has escaped art-historical attention. However, new research allows us to reappraise him and his contribution to Brussels tapestry design.

Born in or around 1585, Lefebure married Esther van der Balen in Brussels in 1608,⁴⁹ and a year later was registered as a master in the Brussels guild of painters.⁵⁰ The entry shows that he was the son of Charles Lefebure; that he was born in Mechelen; and that he had been registered as a Brussels citizen on 13th April 1609.⁵¹ In 1637 Lefebure presumably entered into a second marriage, with Johanna Herinckx.⁵²

It can be assumed that Lefebure, like Jordaens, was trained as a watercolour painter (one who used pigment mixed with rabbit skin glue on thin linen). During the sixteenth century Mechelen painters had specialised in watercolour paintings on cloth, including cartoons for the tapestry industries in neighbouring towns.⁵³ He had a long career in Brussels and trained a range of apprentices between 1609 and 1639: Michel Confaelt from Ghent (1609); Antoine van Berenbroeck (1611; registered as a master in 1623); Jan Clabodts (1615); Pierre Tassot *dit La Feulle*, who was born in France (1620); Gilles van Bleyenberch (1622; registered as a master in 1633); Herman van den Berghe (1623); Jacques-Antoine de Meester (1627); Pierre Soetemans (1629); and Jan de Broe (1639).⁵⁴ De Broe was the son-in-law of Jan de Stryker, who in 1639 was cited as 'one of the most important entrepreneurs' ('een van de principaelste coopliden') of the Brussels tapestry industry.⁵⁵

The fact that Lefebure was granted privileges as a tapestry designer only at the age of sixty-five does not mean that he had become involved in the industry at a late age. In his application Lefebure stated that he had 'painted and opgemaakt cartoons from early youth' ('van sijne jongheit aff hem hadde geexerceert in't schilderen ende opmaecken van patroonen'). 'Opmaecken' can be taken to mean restoring, retouching and modifying sixteenth-century cartoons, which were painted in watercolour, to enable these to remain usable in the seventeenth century. In fact, the earliest document linking Lefebure to the industry concerns this activity: in 1637 he was commissioned to recycle the sixteenth-century cartoons of *The story of Jacob*.⁵⁶

On the basis of Segers's inventory, the two series of *The inclinations of Man* and *The story of Constantine* can be attributed to Lefebure. An eight-part edition of the *Inclinations* series signed by

(1985), pp.61–73; and N. Forti Grazzini: "'The Meeting of Jacob and Rebecca, and Isaac Blessing Jacob' from 'The Story of Jacob'", in K. Brosens et al.: *European Tapestry in the Art Institute of Chicago*, New Haven and London 2008, pp.108–13.

⁵⁷ Inv. no.LXX/I–VIII; E. von Birk: 'Inventar der im Besitz des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses befindlichen Niederländner Tapeten und Gobelins', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 2 (1884), pp.183–84. The Latin legends are: 'parva hominum/pars virtutem/amplectiv', 'sangvineos/animos mavortis/gloria tangit', 'doctrinam docti/colvit et scientiam/amant', 'ar nisi/ignorantem non/habet inimicvm', 'quem non tangit/amor quem non sva/spicula laedvnt', 'mercator avri/venas commercia quaerit', 'qvos animos/nvngquam vina/lvsqvae petvnt', and 'omnia post nymmo/hec diva pecunia/cvnctos affectus/regit'.

⁵⁸ In 1972 a version was included in the catalogue of the Paris-based dealer Dario Boccaro; photograph 1625.49 in documentary photographs at the Koninklijke Musea voor Kunst en Geschiedenis, Brussels. Another *Mercury* tapestry recently appeared on the art market in Paris (333 by 300 cm.); sale, Gazette de l'Hôtel Drouot, 2nd March 2007, p.179. Two *Inclinations* tapestries signed by Jan-Frans van den Hecke are in a European private collection. One shows the scene of *Art does not have enemies*, but bears a different Latin inscription: 'artibus ingenuis/celebris delectat/apelles'. The second tapestry depicts Bacchus and Ceres and bears the inscription 'deliciis

Roelandts and Leemans is at the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.⁵⁷ This allegorical series with Latin cartouches in the upper border depicts human activities protected or encouraged by a deity and advocates a virtuous life in line with seventeenth-century morality. Scenes include *Minerva: the duty of a young man is to cultivate virtue*; *Mars: the sanguine man will become almost as famous as Mars*; *Minerva: the learned man fosters teaching and loves knowledge*; *Minerva: Art has no enemies, except for Ignorance* (Fig.1); *Cupid: he who does not meddle with Amor does not get hurt by his arrows* (Fig.2); *Mercury: the merchant who ventures into commerce will be rewarded with gold*; *Bacchus: some men never strive for wine and play*; and *Money comes first; the divine gold rules all inclinations*. Two further *Mercury* tapestries have surfaced on the French art market, proving that at least three editions of the series were manufactured.⁵⁸ Two editions are recorded in seventeenth-century documents. In 1651 the Brussels-based French tapestry entrepreneur Charles de La Fontaine (1610/15–78) stated in a document that he had exported an eight-part edition to Paris.⁵⁹ In 1676 'three pieces from the Inclinations of Men' ('drie stukken van het genuegen van menschen') were kept at the Brussels *pand*.

Lefebure's *Story of Constantine* can be identified on the basis of a series of which a number of editions and tapestries signed by Roelandts and Leemans have been preserved. The most extensive edition consists of seven tapestries and is at the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva. Ordered chronologically, the seven scenes are *Constantius appoints his son Constantine as his successor*; *The vision of Constantine*; *The defeat of Maxentius* (Fig.6); *The entry into Rome*; *The building of the Lateran basilica* (Fig.3); *The marriage of Constantine's half-sister Constantia and Licinius* (Fig.5); and *Helena shows Constantine the True Cross* (Fig.4). Two tapestries depicting *The defeat of Maxentius* and *The entry into Rome*, which formed part of a second edition, were in a Swedish private collection at the beginning of the twentieth century.⁶⁰ Two tapestries showing *The vision of Constantine* and *The defeat of Maxentius* belong to a third edition of the series. They were at the Palace of Holyroodhouse, Edinburgh, until 1992, when they were sold.⁶¹

The iconographic programmes of both *The inclinations of Man* and *The story of Constantine* were connected to those developed in a number of other series that were popular on the European tapestry market in the second quarter of the seventeenth century. Thus, the exhortations conveyed by *The inclinations of Man* can also be found in a number of series designed by Lefebure's contemporary Antoon Sallaert that promote a virtuous life: *The sufferings of Cupid*, *The life of Man* and the *Sapientia* or the *Powers that rule the World*.⁶² Only the cartoons of Sallaert's *Cupid* series

vincitvr/homo rapitvrque/salemo'.

⁵⁹ Paris, Archives nationales, Minutier central, LXXXVIII, 204, 12th May 1651. For De La Fontaine, see Brosens 2007, *op. cit.* (note 4), pp.43–60.

⁶⁰ J. Böttiger: *Tapisseries à figures des XVI^e et XVII^e siècles appartenant à des collections privées de la Suède*, Stockholm 1928, pp.81–83.

⁶¹ Swain, *op. cit.* (note 8), pp.38–39; sale, Sotheby's, Amsterdam, at the Orangerie, Château de Beloeil, Belgium, 16th and 17th June 1992, lots 404 and 405 (we would like to thank Guy Delmarcel for this reference). Wauters, *op. cit.* (note 15), p.341, mentions two tapestries signed by Joris Leemans that were exhibited at the Retrospective Exposition of the Industrial Arts in Milan in 1874: *Louis XIV approuvant les dessins pour la construction du Louvre* and *Helena shows Constantine the True Cross*.

⁶² These series were examined by P.-A. Michielssen: 'De 17de-eeuwse burgermoraal, geformuleerd in drie Brusselse wandtapijtreksels naa patronen van Antoon Sallaert (voor 1590–1650). Bronnenonderzoek van de emblemensymboliek', unpublished Master's thesis (Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven, 1994). Editions of *The sufferings of Cupid* and *The life of Man* are at the Patrimonio nacional, Madrid; see P. Junquera de Vega and C. Diaz Gallegos: *Catalogo de tapices del Patrimonio nacional. Volumen II: Siglo XVII*, Madrid 1986, pp.134–63 and 268–74.



3. *The building of the Lateran basilica*, by the workshop of Joris Leemans after a design by Lanceloot Lefebure. c.1650. Wool and silk, 344 by 330 cm. (Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva).



4. *Helena shows Constantine the True Cross*, by the workshop of Matthijs Roelandts after a design by Lanceloot Lefebure. c.1650. Wool and silk, 359 by 345 cm. (Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva).



5. *The marriage of Constantine's half-sister Constantia and Licinius*, by the workshop of Matthijs Roelandts after a design by Lanceloot Lefebure. c.1650. Wool and silk, 352 by 380 cm. (Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva).

⁶³ Michielssen, *op. cit.* (note 62), p.81, convincingly argued that Sallaert's *Cupid* series to a certain extent draws on Rubens's *Eucharist* series and can therefore be dated after 1628. As some of the *Cupid* pieces are signed by Jan II Raes, who died in 1639, Sallaert's *Cupid* series can be dated between 1628 and 1639.

⁶⁴ N. Forti Grazzini: 'Un arazzo di Bruxelles', in *Arte all'incanto: mercato e prezzi dell'arte e dell'antiquariato alle aste Finarte 1984/85*, Milan 1985, pp.390–94; *idem, op. cit.* (note 8), pp.26–49.

⁶⁵ D. DuBon: *Tapestries from the Samuel H. Kress Collection at the Philadelphia Museum*

can be dated approximately (between 1628 and 1639), making it impossible for the time being to order chronologically Lefebure's and Sallaert's moralising series.⁶³ Clearly, Lefebure's *Constantine* series belonged to the rich body of tapestry sets depicting the life and deeds of illustrious men of antiquity. In the first half of the seventeenth century, Constantine, the first Christian emperor, was a particularly popular exemplum. Apart from Lefebure's series, a *Constantine* set designed by the Antwerp painter Abraham van Diepenbeeck (1596–1675) was available on the European market.⁶⁴ The cartoons of the Van Diepenbeeck series, created before 1655, were owned by the Antwerp textile entrepreneur Hendrik Lenaerts (died in 1669 or 1670) and the Brussels tapestry producers Jan van Leefdael and Gerard van der Strecken (c.1610–77). The two Brussels *Constantine* sets had a counterpart in Paris, where Marc Comans (1563–1644) and François de La Planche (1573–1627), two emigrant (tapestry) entrepreneurs heading a tapestry workshop in the Faubourg Saint-Marcel, produced Rubens's twelve-part *Constantine* series.⁶⁵ As the Rubens set was created in 1622, it seems plausible that the two Brussels *Constantine* series were designed later.

The *Inclinations* and *Constantine* series show that Lefebure was familiar with the new monumentality introduced by Rubens in Brussels and French tapestry around 1620 with his *Story of*

of Art: the history of Constantine the Great designed by Peter Paul Rubens and Pietro da Cortona, Aylesbury 1964; J.S. Held: *The oil sketches of Peter Paul Rubens: a critical catalogue*, Princeton 1980, I, pp.65–85; K. Brosens: 'Who commissioned Rubens's "Constantine" series? A new perspective: the entrepreneurial strategy of Marc Comans and François de La Planche', *Simiolus* 33 (2008), pp.166–82.

⁶⁶ For an introduction to the *Story of Decius Mus*, see G. Delmarcel: 'De geschiedenis van Decius Mus/The History of Decius Mus', in *idem et al., op. cit.* (note 2), pp.39–57.

Decius Mus and *Constantine* series.⁶⁶ This emerges, for example, from Lefebure's *The entry into Rome* and *The defeat of Maxentius* (Fig.6), in which the muscular bodies of Constantine and the other protagonists cover nearly the entire picture surface. But in contrast to Rubens, Lefebure renders his characters in elongated, convoluted poses that are challenging, if not anatomically incorrect: in *Helena shows Constantine the True Cross* (Fig.4), for example, Constantine's upper and lower body are not logically connected. Equally, in the representation of a rich and agitated drapery, Lefebure seems to be more interested in an ornamental and playful effect than in monumental realism. The construction of Lefebure's compositions is also different from those by Rubens, as is clearly revealed by a comparison between Rubens's painting, *The defeat and death of Maxentius* (Fig.7), and Lefebure's depiction of the same scene (Fig.6). Rubens opted for flat frontality: almost the entire surface is covered by the clashing armies arranged in a pyramidal composition. Lefebure, on the other hand, reduces the number of foreground figures while the second and third plane contains a teeming crowd of soldiers, which results in a zigzag composition with a greater sense of depth. In more static compositions, such as *Helena shows Constantine the True Cross* (Fig.4), the difference between the artists is equally obvious. While Rubens's version of the scene includes only a handful of characters, Lefebure develops a composition packed with numerous bystanders in both foreground and background.

The choices made by Lefebure are typical of sixteenth-century tapestry design and were presumably inspired and shaped by his familiarity with the sixteenth-century cartoons that he retouched on behalf of the Brussels *tapisseries* and therefore had studied carefully. *The building of the Lateran basilica* (Fig.3) and *The marriage of Constantine's half-sister Constantia and Licinius* (Fig.5), for instance, are reminiscent of *The supper of Scipio and Massinissa* (Fig.8), a scene from Giulio Romano's and Giovanni Francesco Penni's twenty-two-piece set of the *Deeds and Triumphs of Scipio*.⁶⁷ The first edition of the *Scipio* series was woven between 1532 and 1535, but the cartoons were re-used around the middle of the seventeenth century in, for instance, the Van Leefdael, Van der Strecken, Leyniers and Reydams workshops.⁶⁸ The soldier on the right side of Lefebure's *Helena shows Constantine the True Cross* (Fig.4), who seems to enter the composition in a somewhat unfortunate, unbalanced way, is an allusion to Syphax, who is seated on the right side of the table in *The supper of Scipio and Massinissa* (Fig.8).

Obviously, Lefebure's vocabulary can also be recognised in his *Inclinations* series. But at the same time this set is characterised by other stylistic features, suggesting that it was designed later than *The story of Constantine*. Thus, the poses assumed by the characters in the *Inclinations* are considerably less mannered and their proportions are more realistic. Moreover, in this series compositions are clearly less crowded and the action always take place in the foreground. Lefebure's *Inclinations of Man* is therefore more closely related to Rubens's tapestry designs, as well as those by



6. *The defeat of Maxentius*, by the workshop of Matthijs Roelandts after a design by Lanceloot Lefebure. c.1650. Wool and silk, 359 by 478 cm. (Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva).



7. *The defeat and death of Maxentius*, by Peter Paul Rubens. Panel, 38.3 by 64.5 cm. (Wallace Collection, London).

Jacob Jordaens. A planar composition such as found in *Minerva* (Fig.1) compares favourably with a number of Jordaens's simple and static scenes from the *Country life* (c.1635), *Proverbs* (c.1645) and *Charlemagne* (c.1650) series.⁶⁹ Hence, Lefebure's *Constantine* may have been designed c.1635–40 and the *Inclinations* sometime between 1640 and 1650, when the cartoons created by Jordaens and his studio were particularly popular in Brussels.

A Brussels *Dido and Aeneas* series, created before 1652, can probably also be attributed to Lefebure.⁷⁰ *The supper of Dido and Aeneas* (Fig.9) shows a composition reminiscent of *The building of the Lateran basilica* (Fig.3), but especially *The marriage of Constantine's half-sister Constantia and Licinius* (Fig.5): a crowded scene in the foreground is juxtaposed with a perception of depth created by receding colonnades. The teeming groups of people on the

⁶⁷ For this series and additional bibliography, see T.P. Campbell: 'Italian Designs in Brussels, 1530–35', in *idem et al.*: exh. cat. *Art and Magnificence. Tapestry in the Renaissance*, New York (Metropolitan Museum of Art) 2002, pp.341–49.

⁶⁸ Forti Grazzini, *op. cit.* (note 29), I, pp.206–45.

⁶⁹ Nelson, *op. cit.* (note 3), pp.29–36, 43–45, 85–117 and 133–43.

⁷⁰ On 12th February 1652, Jasper van der Bruggen and Peter van den Berghe were commissioned to produce an eight-part edition of a *Dido and Aeneas* series; ARAB, NGB, vol.4430. A late set signed by Gerard Peemans and Marcus de Vos (1630–in or

after 1697) is kept in Spain (Patrimonio nacional, Madrid); Junquera de Vega and Diaz Gallegos, *op. cit.* (note 62), pp.27–61 (series 47). However, the composition of this set is particularly complex because it is a nineteenth-century amalgamation: apart from *Dido* scenes, it also contains scenes from other series, including scenes from Justus van Egmont's *Cleopatra* and *Caesar* series (e.g. nos.5, 7, 9 and 10), scenes from Charles Poerson's *Titus* and *Vespasianus* series (e.g. nos.20 and 21) and one scene from Lefebure's *Inclinations* series (no.34). For the *Cleopatra*, *Caesar* and *Titus* and *Vespasianus* series, see Brosens *et al.*, *op. cit.* (note 56), pp.138–65 and 174–78.



8. *The supper of Scipio and Massinissa*, by the workshop of Gerard van der Strecken after a design by Giulio Romano. c.1660. Wool and silk, 410 by 530 cm. (Palazzo del Quirinale, Rome).



9. *The supper of Dido and Aeneas*, by the workshop of Marcus de Vos after a design by Lanceloot Lefebure. c.1650. Wool and silk, 422 by 633 cm. (Patrimonio nacional, Madrid).

first floor are almost identical in both scenes. The elongated characters in far-fetched poses populating the *Dido* scene are very similar to Lefebure's characters. Dido's pose and garment are nearly identical in *The marriage of Constantine's half-sister Constantia and Licinius*.

In addition, a number of modified sixteenth-century cartoons can be attributed to Lefebure. *The story of Jacob* has been documented,⁷¹ and possibly Lefebure was also involved in the adaptation of the *Scipio* series, given his familiarity with its visual language. On the basis of style, the seventeenth-century version of the sixteenth-century *Story of Phaeton* series can be ascribed to Lefebure.⁷² The recycled *Phaeton* cartoons that were used c.1650 by various Brussels workshop managers indeed show how, in the process of translation, certain characters acquired stylistic features typical of Lefebure.⁷³ The most striking characteristic is the disconnection between the upper and the lower body by the use of abundant, agitated drapery, as can be seen in *Apollo tries to dissuade Phaeton from driving the sun chariot*. Interestingly, the two protagonists here are cited in a scene from a series depicting *The Arts*, produced c.1650. The characters and the composition of this last series, which to date has received very little attention,⁷⁴ display stylistic features similar to Lefebure's and could therefore also be attributed to him.

However, attributions to Lefebure are made more difficult by the stylistic similarity between his work and that of his contemporaries.

Antoon Sallaert. In 1646 Sallaert was granted tax relief by the Brussels city administration in recognition of his contribution to the industry.⁷⁵ In his application Sallaert stressed the fact that he had introduced a new style in Brussels tapestry design ('eenen nieuwen stijl oft maniere'), making it unnecessary for the workshop managers to employ artists from other towns. Presumably, this passage can be understood as a protectionist response to the presence of cartoons created by Jordaens and his studio in Brussels. In 1645, some months before Sallaert filed his application with the city administration, the Brussels *tapisser* Boudewijn van Beveren had hung a cartoon of Jordaens's *Proverbs* in the church of St Catherine,⁷⁶ which may have bruised Sallaert's ego. In his application Sallaert also estimated that he had made more than twenty-four tapestry sets. He probably also included adaptations of sixteenth-century cartoons among these twenty-four sets. Consequently, both Sallaert and Lefebure faced the same challenges and tried to develop a similar mixture of traditional sixteenth-century and innovative seventeenth-century styles blending one-dimensional monumentality and three-dimensional depth. However, Sallaert's tapestry œuvre remains largely unexplored, which also renders the study of Lefebure's work more difficult.⁷⁷ The similarity between both designers can be illustrated by means of *Cupid: he who does not meddle with Amor does not get hurt by his arrows* (Fig.2), a cartoon from Lefebure's *Inclinations* series

⁷¹ See note 56. See also J. Downs: 'An Exhibition of Tapestries', *Bulletin of the Pennsylvania Museum* 22 (1927), p.3131, for a *Jacob* tapestry woven in the early seventeenth century.

⁷² For the series, see M. Crick-Kuntziger: 'Note sur une tenture inédite de l'Histoire de Phaéton', *Revue belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art* 20 (1951), pp.127–37.

⁷³ An eight-part edition produced by Jan II Leyniers was included in J.P. Morgan's collection before it was sold to French & Company in 1932. This edition is now kept at the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City; see J.-P. Asselberghs: *Les tapisseries flamandes aux Etats-Unis d'Amérique*, Brussels 1974, p.30. Photographs can be consulted online via the Getty Database (images 0238701, 0238704, 0238705, 0238707, 0238709, 0238712, 0238713 and 0238715).

⁷⁴ M. Díaz Pádron *et al.*: exh. cat. *Renacimiento y Barroco. Colección Grupo Banco Hispano Americano*, Toledo (Museo de Santa Cruz) 1987, pp.94–103. See also H.

Göbel: *Wandteppiche. 1: Die Niederlande*, Leipzig 1923, II, fig.296.

⁷⁵ SAB, RT, vol.1294, 15th December 1646.

⁷⁶ SAB, RT, vol.1294, 14th July 1645. For the *Proverb* series, see Nelson, *op. cit.* (note 3), pp.33–36 and 103–17.

⁷⁷ For Sallaert, see C. d'Arshot: 'Tableaux peu connus conservés en Brabant', *Revue belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art* 16 (1946), pp.115–26; M. Van der Venne: 'Le peintre bruxellois Antoine Sallaert', *Bulletin des Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* 23–29 (1974–80), pp.171–98; *idem*: 'Le peintre bruxellois Antoine Sallaert. Un choix de gravures', *Bulletin des Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* 30–33 (1981–84), pp.81–122; J. Van Tatenhove: 'Enkele tekeningen in monotypieën van Anthonis Sallaert (c.1590–1650)', *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 2 (1983), pp.243–60; Michielssen, *op. cit.* (note 62), *passim*; and Delmarcel, *op. cit.* (note 8), pp.240–41.



10. *Theseus leaves Ariadne*, by the workshop of Jan II Raes after a design by Antoon Sallaert. c.1630. Wool and silk, 326 by 469 cm. (Patrimonio nacional, Madrid).

whose composition is reminiscent of *Theseus leaves Ariadne* in Sallaert's *Theseus* series (Fig.10).⁷⁸ Additionally, Lefebure's Cupid echoes Sallaert's Cupid as depicted in *The sufferings of Cupid* series. However, the representation of the characters might enable us to distinguish Sallaert's work from that of Lefebure. Overall Sallaert's figures are less monumental and robust, and he pays more attention to the depiction of the landscape setting than does Lefebure. But future research on both tapestry designers will always need to consider the possibility that the painters collaborated. In 1643 Lanceloot Lefebure became the godfather of Antoon Sallaert's daughter Maria, which clearly illustrates that at least at that time the artists were friends rather than competitors.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ For the *Theseus* series, see P. Junquera de Vega: 'Un pequeno patron de Antonio Sallaert y su traducción en tapices', *Artes Textiles* 8 (1974), pp.114–22; M. Van der Vennet: 'Deux projets d'Antoine Sallaert pour une tenture de l'Histoire de Thésée', *Bulletin des Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* 50 (1978), pp.253–58; and P. Junquera de Vega: 'La Historia de Teseo en dos series de tapices de la colección del Patrimonio Nacional de España', *Artes Textiles* 10 (1981), pp.169–78.

⁷⁹ SAB, PR, vol.340, 1st October 1643.

The Baroque exhibition in London

by SIMON SWYNFEN JERVIS

IN HIS FOREWORD to the catalogue of *Baroque 1620–1800: Style in the Age of Magnificence* (Victoria and Albert Museum, London; to 19th July) the Director of the Museum, Mark Jones, places the exhibition in a tradition encompassing *Rococo: Art and Design in Hogarth's England* (1984), which covered, at the outside, some fifty years, from about 1720 to 1770.¹ It is tempting to push the clock further back to find a comparably ambitious theme tackled in *The Age of Neo-Classicism*, a Council of Europe exhibition held at both the Royal Academy of Arts in London and the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1972. Its date-span was not precisely delineated but John Pope-Hennessy's catalogue foreword indicated about 1750 to 1850, roughly a century. With 1,912 catalogue entries *Neo-Classicism* was on a gigantic scale, but even the 532 entries of the 1984 *Rococo* exhibition dwarf *Baroque*, with its mere 177 entries, almost exactly a third as many. Comparisons based on statistics make dismal reading, but these underline the magnitude and difficulty of the task which the organisers had set themselves: their declared time-span was nearly two centuries, and *Baroque* was to be presented as 'the first global style'.

As seems increasingly common nowadays, a thematic approach underlies the selection and arrangement of the objects in *Baroque* and there is little discernible sense of chronological

progression or stylistic evolution. At the Victoria and Albert Museum it is not surprising to find that the exhibition 'rejects the orthodox principle that the art of painting should be privileged in historical accounts of visual culture', but it has to be added that the stated corollary that 'equal importance must be given to the applied and decorative arts' does not lead to any very balanced representation of some traditional strengths of the V. & A., textiles, ceramics and glass being notably thin on the ground, while books and book bindings are virtually absent.

However, some very impressive loans have been secured. One of the two great cabinets by Domenico Cucci at Alnwick Castle is in London for the first time since the 1920s (cat. no.3; Fig.11). Sole survivors of the cabinets of Versailles, the pair was delivered in 1683 at a cost of 16,000 livres; it is plausible to attribute their design to Charles LeBrun, although the catalogue is silent on this aspect and does not note that Cucci also made the gilt-bronze balustrade of the Escalier des Ambassadeurs at Versailles, costing 31,000 livres (no.137). Another star is a towering bed from the National Museum in Stockholm (no.165), long believed to have been presented to Count Bielke by Louis XIV in 1682, whereas its materials are modest by Versailles standards. The catalogue describes it as 'in the style of Jean Berain' and so, broadly, it is,

¹ Catalogue: *Baroque 1620–1800: Style in the Age of Magnificence*. Edited by Michael Snodin and Nigel Llewellyn, assisted by Joanna Norman. 372 pp. incl. 325 col. + 41

b. & w. ills., 2 maps and 4 plans. (V. & A. Publishing, London, 2009), £40 (HB). ISBN 978-1-85177-558-3; £25 (PB). ISBN 978-1-85177-591-0.



11. Cabinet, by Domenico Cucci. Gobelins workshop, Paris, 1679–83. Pine and oak veneered with ebony, set with *pietra dura* plaques and gilt-bronze mounts; stand of carved, gilded and painted wood, 299 by 196 by 65 cm. (Duke of Northumberland, Alnwick Castle; exh. Victoria and Albert Museum, London).



12. Screen for the Council Room of Batavia Fort, made by Chinese and/or Dutch craftsmen in Indonesia. c.1700–20. Teak, carved, painted and gilded, 297 by 231 by 60 cm. (Museum Sejarah, Jakarta; exh. Victoria and Albert Museum, London).

but a discussion of comparable designs by Gabriel Androuet DuCerceau, Nicolas Guérard and Daniel Marot would have been more to the point. There is a spectacular run of Roman metalwork and vestments for the chapel of St John the Baptist in São Roque in Lisbon, together with the original model, designed by Luigi Vanvitelli (nos.101, 105 and 106–25; Fig.14). Oddly there is no mention of its altarpiece and overdoors having been designed by Agostino Manucci, one of João V's favourite painters, nor of their execution in mosaic. The Parisian silver-gilt toilet service from Chatsworth (no.169), mainly of about 1670, makes a splendid counterpoint to the great silver triad of mirror, table and candlestands from Knole (no.166), supplied by Gerrit Jensen in 1680 (the catalogue caption erroneously describes these as marked by Jensen). And the cool control of François Girardon's bronze reduction of his destroyed equestrian statue of Louis XIV, of about 1695, from the Louvre (no.60; Fig.13) is delightfully juxtaposed with the hectic goings-on in Panini's 1731 version of the preparations to celebrate the birth of Louis's great-great-grandson in Piazza Navona in 1729, from the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin (no.61).

The mere nine objects chosen to exemplify the 'global' spread of the Baroque style call into question the wisdom of the decision to spread *Baroque*'s net so widely – and thinly. A mon-

umental screen said to date from c.1700–20 from the Council Room of the Fort at Batavia is impressive, but fully Dutch in style and, as there were two Dutch sculptors in Batavia in 1685, it may even be essentially a Dutch overseas manufacture (no.11; Fig.12). Even more spectacular at first glance is a gilt Mexican altarpiece of about 1690 (no.90), also shown in the 2006 *The Arts in Latin America 1492–1820* exhibition in Philadelphia. But, unlike the soaring high altar from São Bento de Olinda, Pernambuco, unforgettably installed in the centre of Frank Lloyd Wright's Guggenheim Museum, New York, for the 2001 *Brazil, Body and Soul* exhibition, that in *Baroque* is not, for all its Salamonic columns, a particularly Baroque work, the more so as it has lost the sculptured Crucifixion, originally above its Neapolitan Virgin, essential to its dramatic narrative: '*Stabat Mater dolorosa, Juxta crucem lacrimosa, Dum pendebat Filius*'. Another Philadelphia veteran, attributed to Manuel de Arellano, depicting the *Translation of the Virgin of Guadalupe* in 1709 (no.74), does include the new Baroque sanctuary, but a Cuzco School *Holy Family*, imprecisely dated '1700–1800' (no.130), makes no particular point. Three small devotional ivories with wide and approximate date-ranges, two thought to be from Goa and one from the Philippines, interesting in themselves, fail to make much impact as Baroque objects (nos.6, 7 and 127), while a movingly angular

² Caption (p.209): 'maker unknown [...] c.1760; catalogue entry (p.342): "Attributed to Antonio Machado [...] 1775–1810".'

³ The São Roque objects are flanked by two video screens, one showing objects being handled by clinical white gloves (no bells or smells), and the other a celebra-

tion of part of a mass at the nearby Brompton Oratory; the opportunity to point out that this is being celebrated at a genuine Baroque altar made in 1693 for S. Domenico in Brescia is missed.

Virgin of the Seven Sorrows attributed to O Aleijadinho, which may be as late as 1812, is too much of an outlier in this company (no.89). One of the fascinating prints published in the early 1780s to record a palace designed by Giuseppe Castiglione for the Qianlong Emperor also seems tangential (no.26). That is all. And there is nothing to represent Africa. On such evidence the ‘global’ thesis seems weak indeed. Whether trade, religion or conquest be in the van, all carry styles with them, as was always so. Outside Europe the Baroque vocabulary certainly enjoyed an imperial spread in Central and South America in the wake of Renaissance forms and ornament, but elsewhere the pattern was more colonial and the style rarely penetrated far or comprehensively beyond such littoral outposts as Goa, Colombo or Macao.

The date-span of 1620 to 1800 poses another problem. While there is a case to be made for a ‘broad church’ definition of Baroque, subsuming *barochetto*, Régence and even Rococo, and for coverage of Baroque survival away from its epicentres (Russia and Eastern Europe are notably neglected in this respect), a balance needs to be struck. A crude measure of that struck in *Baroque* is that well over half the exhibits are later than 1700 and under a tenth earlier than 1650. That the finest painting in the exhibition should be the 1767 (or slightly later) *Virgin of the Immaculate Conception* (Museo del Prado, Madrid; no.88) by Giambattista Tiepolo, originally for S. Pascual in Aranjuez, is symptomatic: its meditative, solemn authority transcends its surroundings, particularly its neighbour, a late and formulaic over-life-size Portuguese carved and painted *Immaculate Conception* (no.87).² In the catalogue the Tiepolo is contrasted with Guido Reni’s *Immaculate Conception* of 1627 (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York); Ribera’s radiant 1635 *Virgin* for La Purísma in Valladolid, in a frame by Cosimo Fanzago, would have been a better touchstone. And the superb objects from São Roque, a seventh of the whole exhibition and essentially *barochetto* of the 1740s with some Rococo ingredients, hijack too much stylistic limelight.³ Elsewhere, given the need for rigorous prioritisation, some choices seem odd. An ivory cup by Philipp Sengler, made in Florence in 1681 (no.37), needs to be put into context. As Klaus Meurice makes clear in *Der Drehselnde Souverän* (1985), not in the bibliography, ivory-turning is a pre-Baroque taste, the Emperor Rudolf II being one of its great exponents. And while two Böttger Meissen coffee pots (1710–13; nos.45 and 46) of the same model, one in plain red stoneware, the other japanned, constitute one of those neat pairings beloved by ceramic historians, they are hardly speaking exemplars of Baroque taste. Might not a careful selection of late maiolica from Castelli and Savona, and of faience from Nevers, Moustiers, Frankfurt and Rouen have been a more expressive ingredient? One tulip vase is not enough (no.44). And somewhere, surely, there should have been a subject after Antonio Tempesta. Similarly, a group of three ‘English’ chairs, fascinating to the furniture historian, seem dim as models of ‘style in the age of magnificence’ (nos.8–10).

Although the Rubens design for a silver basin made by Theodoor Rogiers (National Gallery, London; no.14) is a welcome presence, as is the V. & A.’s own Giardini mace (no.76; curiously ‘kaleidoscoped’ to provide a ‘bling’ dust-jacket image), the balance of the silver on view tends to the ornamental rather than the bold and sculptural. It is remarkable, nonetheless, that the V. & A. itself should have acquired in only slightly over a decade the Macclesfield wine set (1719–20; no.157), a ewer and basin made in Lille for the Duke of Marlborough (1711–12; no.159) and a pair of silver-gilt cups and salvers made for Lord



13. Equestrian statue of Louis XIV, by François Girardon. c.1695. Bronze, 102 by 98 by 50 cm. (Musée du Louvre, Paris; exh. Victoria and Albert Museum, London).



14. Incense boat and spoon, by Leandro Gagliardi. 1750. Silver gilt, boat: 20 by 18 cm.; spoon: 13 cm. (Chapel of St John the Baptist, São Roque, Lisbon; exh. Victoria and Albert Museum, London).

Bingley in 1714 (no.158), which are assembled as an evocation of part of the famous buffet in the Rittersaal of the Berlin Schloss (which originally incorporated two great London cisterns presented by William III to the then Friedrich III of Brandenburg in 1694). Their arrangement in *Baroque* shows some sense of theatre but, for the most part, its design tends to the half-hearted. There is too much white or off-white – not a proper background for the great cabinet by Domenico Cucci, who came close to cladding the walls of the Petite Galerie at Versailles with lapis lazuli and tortoiseshell, a scheme abandoned in 1692. Elsewhere there is some colour, slate-grey, slate-blue, a brown and a red,

sometimes relieved by a ghostly marbled effect. The tentative character of the whole is underlined by the sparsity of the exhibits: Thomas Roberts's 1702 throne and footstool from Hatfield look particularly forlorn (no.148). Why no rich velvets? Why no Bizarre silks to exemplify that extreme, arbitrary, even aleatory, style current around 1700? Why no books? Surely Paul Decker's *Fürstlicher Baumeister* (Augsburg; 1711–16) called out for inclusion. Drawings and prints suffer particularly from isolation, and it is difficult to understand why in a V. & A. exhibition virtually no engraved ornament was shown, the only exception being a series of four title-pages for the set of friezes by Odoardo Fialetti, mounted together (no.12). These illustrate diffusion neatly, but there are many acanthus friezes, for instance those by Stefano della Bella, Edward Pearce and Jean LePautre, which would have spoken more powerfully and for which there was plenty of space. Baroque prints, such as those in the *Cabinet du Roi*, can be so big and bold that they could have enriched and enlivened almost every section.

The physical layout of the exhibition seems to have been very predetermined: the catalogue entries are precisely and inflexibly in the order in which the objects are displayed, although, irritatingly, there are no catalogue numbers on the labels. These pre-planned arrangements produce some very curious juxtapositions: a Goanese ivory Christ, an ivory Virgin from the Philippines and a silver candelabrum made by a Parisian goldsmith for the Royal Chapel in Stockholm may read piquantly on the page; in reality the combination appears arbitrary and awkward. Individual objects also suffer: the 'Javanese' table from Ham House (no.48), recently reallocated to Arakan on the Bay of Bengal,⁴ looks lost; and Bernini's *bozzetto* for Blessed Ludovica Albertoni and that for Pope Alexander VII are diminished, both against red, not the colour for terracotta, the one in a disparate row of three, the other too low beneath a jolly but clashing polychrome *Fame* from Stockholm (nos.83, 95 and 96). Another loser is the enchanting little reliquary of a straw from the Holy Cradle, produced by the Medici Opificio in 1697, which also sits in a row (no.102; Fig.15). And the conceptual 'enfilade' at the end of the exhibition never springs to life.

The catalogue or 'accompanying publication' does contain proper object entries, albeit herded at the back in small print and far removed from the illustrations of the objects, arranged in a different order. But there is a problem: the 177 entries are by sixty-four contributors, one for roughly three entries (comparable figures: *Neo-Classicism* (1972) about forty; *Rococo* (1984) about twelve). The body of *Baroque* contains five main essays interspersed by no fewer than twenty-five illustrated 'case studies' of some five hundred words each, involving a further eleven authors, making seventy-five in all. Of the essays, Michael Snodin's on 'The Baroque Style' and 'The Palace' reflect a safe pair of hands. Nigel Llewellyn's introduction on 'The World of the Baroque Artist', hung on the curious peg of Cosimo Fanzago's brief entanglement in 1647 in the Neapolitan Revolt of Masaniello, valiantly tackles society, international politics, trade and religion *inter alia*: his artists turn out to be predominantly painters.

Interspersed is a case study by Marjorie Trusted on Potosí (it might equally have been Zacatecas or Guanajuato) illustrating nothing particularly Baroque in international terms, nor any of



15. Reliquary of the Cradle of Christ, by Giuseppe Antonio Torricelli, Cosimo Merlini the Younger and the Florentine Grand-ducal workshops after Giovanni Battista Foggini. 1697. Pietre dure, rock crystal and silver gilt, 26.5 by 20 by 15 cm. (Museo degli Argenti, Palazzo Pitti, Florence; exh. Victoria and Albert Museum, London).

the exhibits, while including an *artesonado* ceiling which harks much further back, and another, by Mark Jones, on the medalllic history of Louis XIV, which draws attention to a major Baroque art form unrepresented in the exhibition. But the nature of Baroque is never pinned down: it wobbles between being an artistic style, sometimes flanked by others, and a title for a whole civilisation. Perhaps it is symptomatic that Llewellyn's culminating illustration, the 1635 Gorges monument in Salisbury Cathedral, belongs more in the world of Vredeman de Vries than in that of Bernini.

Inevitably *Baroque* is an overwhelmingly Catholic exhibition (the font house and font from Ringsaker church, north of Oslo, are country cousins in this company; nos.91 and 92), and Llewellyn doughtily treads a tight-rope ('symbolic' proves a tricky word) in explicating Catholic theology and liturgy to what is evidently assumed to be a post-Christian audience with residual Protestant prejudices. His case study on the Stations of the Cross and that by Marjorie Trusted on religious processions fail to stress that highly realistic and emotionally charged religious statuary long antedates the Baroque: witness, for example,

⁴ J. Veenendaal: 'Furniture in Batavia', in T.M. Eliëns, ed.: *Domestic Interiors at the Cape and in Batavia 1602–1795*, Vlaeberg 2002, p.24.

⁵ See G. Jackson-Stops: 'French and Dutch influence on Architecture and Interiors',

in T. Murdoch, ed.: *Boughton House, The English Versailles*, London 1992, p.60.

⁶ A much larger selection was shown in I. Klinka: exh. leaflet *Décor et Costumes d'Opéra en Bohème au XVIII siècle*, Nantes (Musée Dobrée) 1992.



16. Ostrich egg cup. Dresden, 1734. Metalwork by Benjamin Herfurth; porcelain by Johann Joachim Kändler. Ostrich egg with enamelled porcelain, gold and silver mounts, 42.6 by 13.5 cm. (Grünes Gewölbe, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden; exh. Victoria and Albert Museum, London).

works by Gaudenzio Ferrari in Varallo, by Gil de Ronza in Zamora and by Gregorio Fernández in Valladolid (a life-size *Judas* by Andrés Solares from Valladolid; no.75 – is it *stricto sensu* Baroque? – appears ungainly in the catalogue, but powerful in reality). On the whole the writing is clear, although ‘performativity’ might have been avoided, along with a clutch of comfort blankets on the lines of ‘as x has remarked’, ‘as y aptly terms’ or ‘as z rightly contends’. But there is duplication: the Cornaro Chapel, a case study (pp.96–97), is described again on the flanking pages (pp.95 and 98). Similarly Tessa Murdoch’s case study on the state bedchamber (pp.296–97) is anticipated in the foregoing pages (pp.294–95) and overlaps with a later passage on bedchambers (p.312). The auricular style is summarised twice (p.106 and pp.333–34), although the auricular character of the ornament on a rhinoceros horn beaker from Skokloster is missed (p.335; no.36), albeit noted on its label. The label also gets the delectable mounted ostrich egg cup from Dresden right, as a commemoration of its laying at Schloss Moritzburg, whereas the catalogue entry (no.47; p.336; Fig.16) has it commemorating the Elector’s coronation earlier in 1734. But the labels are not always trustworthy: Charles XI of Sweden in the guise of Apollo is not trampling Pythias underfoot, as the latter is seen rampaging in the background of his portrait (no.62). The catalogue dates the V. & A.’s Corradini *Apollo and Marsyas* (no.133) from Dresden ‘1710–50’, whereas it was engraved in 1733. Entries omit the obvious: surely something on Cassiano Dal Pozzo, the dedicatee of the Fialetti friezes, would have been to the point, as might

have been a mention that the maker of the V. & A.’s polychrome ‘boule’ desk (no.172) worked for Maximilian II Emanuel, with a cross-reference to the Claude Ballin tureen which he owned, shown not far away (no.152), or a note that the Pontus Fredrik De La Gardie of the Stockholm *Fame* was the younger brother of the great statesman (and collector of engraved ornament) Magnus Gabriel De La Gardie. That a cabinet acquired in 1996 by the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, provides the closest comparison to the V. & A.’s own ivory cabinet by Pierre Gole (no.174) surely merited a mention, as does the possibility that Alexis Loir may have painted the panels from Montagu House designed by Daniel Marot (no.171).⁵ Nor is it noted that the big painting of the *Carousel for Queen Christina of Sweden* held in 1656 (no.2), the first exhibit, does not (could not?) depict one of its most striking and costly features, the sixteen stars of light made of iron wire ‘con moderna e non più veduta invenzione’ hung high above the courtyard. And, notoriously, Friedrich III was not simply ‘created’ King in Prussia in 1701; he crowned himself at Königsberg with no priestly aid. It should not have been missed that the Kelheim stone vase from the Grünes Gewölbe, Dresden (no.32), mounted by Dinglinger, is clearly indebted to a vase formerly in the collection of the Marchese Del Carpio in Naples, illustrated by Fischer von Erlach in his *Entwürff einer Historischen Architectur* (Vienna 1721). And ‘a famous book of designs for silverwork’, no title, no date, seems scarcely sufficient for Giovanni Giardini’s *Disegni Diversi* (1714), reprinted in 1750 as *Promptuarium artis argentariae*. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that multi-authorship on the scale of *Baroque* makes vetting for consistency and duplication difficult and that lapses and omissions would stand a better chance of correction and arguments a better chance of development, if a smaller, more focused team had been at work. It may look good on the mast-head when such authorities as Philippa Glanville or Reinier Baarsen supply brief – and accomplished – essays on ‘Dining at Court’ or ‘The Gallery’, but they do read as ‘parachuted in’.

The extra illustrations, beyond the exhibits, which they outnumber, tend to redress the temporal imbalance mentioned above, with a much earlier weighting. And they include many splendid images, for instance Gaulli’s ceiling of the Gesù in Rome and Luca Giordano’s staircase in El Escorial, or Vaux-le-Vicomte, the Asamkirche and Vierzehnheiligen, the last fully Rococo as to ornament. *Baroque* is indeed a handsome publication, but it is not an ‘indispensable work of reference’, nor a satisfactory catalogue.

In the exhibition slide-shows and videos perform the role of the extra illustrations in the catalogue, the most revealing showing the theatre at Český Krumlov in operation. However too few of its accoutrements were shown nearby to make much impact.⁶ Exhibitions need narrative structure and coherence, but, above all, for such a subject as the Baroque style, the visual impact of the objects selected and their arrangement and interaction are its vital expression. The attention evidently paid to *Baroque*’s thematic programme does not in sum seem to have been matched by sufficient visual *Schwung*. It is to be hoped that *Baroque*, which includes many remarkable things, will be a great popular success and that it will be succeeded by further ‘historical accounts of visual culture’ focused on a style. Style, and styles, are perennially contested territory, but such exhibitions should surely include within their trajectories some explicit demonstrations of origins and development. And next time more objects, fewer contributors?

Souvenirs of an embassy: the comte d'Adhémar in London, 1783–87

by CHRISTIAN BAULEZ

AFTER FIVE YEARS of war between France and Great Britain, the renewal of diplomatic relations that followed the signing of the Treaty of Versailles on 3rd September 1783, which also granted independence to the American colonies, made it necessary to appoint a new French ambassador to the court of George III. As soon as the preliminary negotiations for the treaty had been signed in February 1783, the choice of the court and of the comte de Vergennes, Minister of Foreign Affairs, fell on the comte d'Adhémar. The nomination of a former military man who had transferred to the diplomatic service less than ten years earlier and who was then serving in Brussels could not but have upset the professional diplomats, no doubt jealous of the extraordinary political advancement of this astute courtier and intimate of the Petit Trianon circle. He was the close friend of the comte de Vaudreuil and the protégé of the duchesse de Polignac, who relied on him heavily and whom he admired with ostentatious devotion. There is much irony in the edifying tale of the obscure Jean-Balthazar d'Azémard de Montfalcon, born in Nîmes in 1731 to a family of no particular note or fortune, and thus condemned to a low-ranking military career despite the fact that '*sa valeur bouillante*' had drawn the attention of two future Maréchals: the marquis de Ségur and the marquis de Castries. When the French battalions were retreating at the Battle of Warburg in July 1760, they had observed 'the young Montfalcon, sword drawn, eyes blazing, hair tousled, handsome in his bravery, running, shouting, inciting and rallying the soldiers, rush into the mêlée, then triumph and take control of the disputed hill'.¹ This endeavour earned him the Cross of the Order of Saint-Louis and a position as the *aide-major* of the citadel of Nîmes, alongside his father. While holding this modest post, he devoted some of his spare time to the examination of the family archives, which enabled him to link himself to the old family of Adhémar, and then to convince the royal genealogist, the incorruptible Bernard Cherin, of the fact. Now of better ancestry, and with the help of the duc de Choiseul and the marquise de Ségur, in 1766 he obtained the rank of colonel in the Chartres infantry regiment of the duc d'Orléans, and in 1767 was admitted to court.

In parallel with the relaunch of his military career, he successfully embarked on a new life in Paris and Versailles which

I have pleasure in thanking those of my colleagues and friends who have assisted me with this article: Claire Béchu, Geoffrey de Bellaigue, Roland Bossard, Frances Buckland, Juliette Dugat, Angélique Gagneur, Olivier Kraemer, Patrick Leperlier, Gérard Mabille, Sarah Medlam, Claude Oger, David H. Peters, Alexandre Pradère, Tamara Préaud, Jean-Pierre Samoyault, Carolyn Sargentson, Selma Schwartz, Marc Simonet-Langland, Constance Schaefer and Thibault Wolvesperges. This article has been translated from the French by Selma Schwartz and Julie Fitzsimons; I am most grateful to them.

¹ '... le jeune Montfalcon, l'épée nue, l'œil ardent, les cheveux en désordre, embellis par son courage, [qui] court, appelle, exhorte, rallie les soldats, se précipite avec eux dans la mêlée, triomphe et reste maître de la colline disputée'; G. de Diesbach, ed.: *Mémoires de Baron de Besenval sur la cour de France*, Paris 1987, pp.321–25; and F. Barrière: *Mémoires, Souvenirs et Anecdotes par le comte de Segur*, Paris 1859, I, pp.33–35.

² Paris, Archives Nationales (cited hereafter as AN), Minutier central des notaires,



17. *Le comte d'Adhémar*, by Louis-Auguste Brun (Brun de Versoix). c.1783. Pencil. From R. Fournier-Sarlovèze: *L.A. Brun: Peintre de Marie-Antoinette 1758–1815*, Paris 1911.

led to a financially advantageous marriage in 1772 to Gabrielle-Pauline Bouthillier de Chavigny, widow of the marquis de Valbelle and *dame du palais* to Marie Leczinska.² This led to his appointment in 1778 to the position of *Premier écuyer* to Madame Elisabeth, sister of Louis XVI. Effectively abandoning his military career at the downfall of the duc de Choiseul in December 1770, he followed a course in public law at Strasbourg before setting off on a Grand Tour, which took him as far as St Petersburg. He returned with the reputation of possessing a cultivated and serious mind and one which merited his appointment in 1774 as Minister plenipotentiary to the Austrian Netherlands by the duc d'Aiguillon (Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1771–74). During his

XI 662: marriage contract, dated 23rd March 1772, made in the presence of Loménie de Brienne, the marquise de Ségur, the marquis de Brancas, the prince de Chalais and the comte de Vaudreuil.

³ G. Desjardins: *Le Petit Trianon*, Paris 1885, pp.154 and 171–72.

⁴ Marc-Marie, marquis de Bombelles: *Journal*, I, Geneva 1977, p.55, entry dated 31st December 1780.

⁵ Florimond-Claude, comte de Mercy-Argenteau: *Correspondance secrète [...] avec l'Empereur Joseph II et le prince de Kaunitz*, Paris 1889, p.120, entry dated 10th August 1782.

⁶ '... la paix étant signée avec les Anglais, il n'y pouvait faire ni bien ni mal'; J. Chalon, ed.: *Mémoires de Madame Campan: première femme de chambre de Marie-Antoinette*, Paris 1988, p.218.

⁷ '... une grande adresse pour parvenir à ses fins'; Desjardins, *op. cit.* (note 3), p.171, citing the comte de Lamarck.

posting to Brussels, and to his credit, he brought about the successful resolution of a border dispute, settled by the Treaty of Limits in November 1779. Over and above this success, he shone on the stage of the Petit Trianon theatre, playing opposite Marie-Antoinette in the role of Colin in *Le Devin de Village* in September 1780.³

Soon afterwards he was being considered for the portfolio of the Ministry of War,⁴ and two years later, for the direction of the Royal Household (*Maison du Roi*).⁵ Instead, on 9th February 1783, he received the ambassadorship to London. Mme Campan, in whom Marie-Antoinette later confided, claimed that the queen's main aim in lobbying Vergennes was to remove d'Adhémar from the circle of the duchesse de Polignac, where she found him exasperating and, 'the peace treaty with the English having been signed, he could do neither good nor harm'.⁶

Among the ladies, the comte d'Adhémar undoubtedly enjoyed the benefits afforded by a handsome face, a pleasant voice and a lively wit (Fig. 17). Depending on their liking for him, men recognised in him 'a great skill in achieving his own ends',⁷ 'disproportionate ambition [...] a meek, ingratiating attitude and an *esprit de conduite*'⁸ and 'a devious mediocrity'.⁹ In the bedroom, the reality was rather less impressive, as, according to the comte de Tilly, he was 'as weak in love as he was in business, when around the ladies [he] replaced the great powers of seduction which he lacked with shrewdness and flattery'.¹⁰ The last word on the subject of the duchesse de Polignac goes to the baron de Besenval, who wrote that if 'Vaudreuil had a real claim on her' it was d'Adhémar who 'enjoyed her trust'.¹¹ And, to conclude, there is an uncharacteristic tribute from the marquis de Bombelles in 1785 on his comments on the failure of a proposed marriage between Armand de Polignac and Caroline de Matignon: 'For a long time to come I will feel no less regret that M. d'Adhémar was in London when the marriage was broken off; it would never have happened had he been present. More sensible and gentle in his own conduct and in that of his friends than the hot-headed comte de Vaudreuil, rather than exciting them further he would have calmed them, and thereby rendered them, as well as their circle, a great service.'¹² Surely that is what is expected of a diplomat above all else?

The new ambassador's departure for London did not take place until May 1783, as it had to coincide with the arrival of George Montagu, 4th Duke of Manchester, who had been appointed to Paris, and it was necessary for the two envoys to meet between Calais and Dover. D'Adhémar made use of this delay to make arrangements for furnishing the embassy, a task made much more expensive because of the lack of any furnishings handed down from an immediate predecessor. To house himself and furnish the residence in an appropriately dignified



18. View of Hyde Park Corner, with Apsley House and the comte d'Adhémar's residence, by Edward Dayes. c.1800. Engraving, 20 by 26 cm.

manner he would have to borrow, solicit the help of his minister and call upon the generosity of the king. A less fortunate and more impecunious colleague, the marquis de Bombelles, did not hesitate to turn his critical eye on the new ambassador who was, in his view, a nobody who, through an unfair advantage, had attained an excellent posting. On 4th June 1783 Bombelles ironically commented that d'Adhémar 'not having found a single residence that suits him in this vast capital city of England, was resolved to have one built; of course this way the King will pay for it, furnish it, and this way His Excellency will again manage to improve his salary. How far he has come since being the poor little Major of Nîmes! Back then meagre lodgings suited him, now houses that suffice for Messieurs de Guerchy, de Nivernais, du Châtelet, de Guines and de Noailles, can no longer accommodate Monsieur d'Adhémar. And yet, he is certain to live less splendidly than his predecessors'.¹³

In fact, His Excellency was able to lease a large town house on Piccadilly at Hyde Park Corner (Fig. 18), two houses along from Apsley House, the future residence of the Duke of Wellington.¹⁴ However, on 1st July 1784, Bombelles, still unhappy with his own financial situation, vented his spleen once again: 'It is to be hoped that a day will come when I will reap greater benefit from the job that I do; but it is possible to grow rich from it only if one enjoys particular favour. Monsieur d'Adhémar is one of the most striking examples of this; he has received 100,000 écus to set himself up in London where he is paid a salary of 260,000 livres. He has been there for over a year without giving a dinner. He is going to return on leave and arrange it so that he has to provide only four or five months of meagre entertainment. That's what's known as doing good business and putting yourself first.'¹⁵ Our

⁸ '... une ambition démesurée [...] l'esprit doux, insinuant et de conduite'; Diesbach, *op. cit.* (note 1), p.321.

⁹ '... une médiocrité intrigante'; C. Melchior-Bonnet, ed.: *Mémoires du comte Alexandre de Tilly pour servir à l'histoire des moeurs de la fin du XVIIIe siècle*, Paris 1965, p.189.

¹⁰ '... faible en amour comme dans les affaires [il] remplaçait auprès des dames les grands moyens de séduction qui lui manquaient, par de l'adresse et de la cajolerie'; *ibid.*, p.190.

¹¹ 'Vaudreuil avait bien des droits sur elle, jouissait de sa confiance'; Diesbach, *op. cit.* (note 1), p.320.

¹² 'Je n'en regretterai pas moins, bien longtemps, que M. d'Adhémar ait été à Londres lors de la rupture du mariage; jamais elle n'aurait eu lieu, lui présent. Plus sage, plus doux dans sa conduite et dans celle de ses amis que le bouillant comte de Vaudreuil, au lieu de monter les têtes, il les eut calmées et leur aurait rendu ainsi qu'à ses entours un grand service'; Bombelles, *op. cit.* (note 4), pp.71–72.

¹³ '... ne trouvant point dans cette vaste capitale de l'Angleterre une seule maison qui lui

convienne, était résolu à en faire bâtir une; bien entendu que par ce moyen le Roi paiera, la meublera et que Son Excellence trouvera encore ce moyen de bonifier son traitement. Que de distance de cette position à celle du pauvre petit major de Nîmes! Alors un logement bien mesquin lui convenait, aujourd'hui les maisons qui suffisent à Messieurs de Guerchy, de Nivernais, du Châtelet, de Guines and de Noailles, ne peuvent plus loger M. d'Adhémar. Et cependant, il vivra sûrement avec moins de magnificence que ses prédecesseurs'; *ibid.*, p.224.

¹⁴ I thank Juliette Dugat who provided me with the location of the residence.

¹⁵ 'Il faut espérer qu'un jour viendra où je tirerai un parti plus avantageux du métier que je fais; mais on ne s'y enrichit qu'avec une faveur marquée. M. d'Adhémar est un de ces exemples les plus frappants; il a obtenu cent mille écus pour s'établir à Londres, où on lui donne deux cent soixante mille livres d'appointements. Il a été plus d'un an sans y donner à manger; il va revenir par congé, et s'arrangera pour n'avoir par an que quatre à cinq mois d'une représentation mesquine. C'est ce qu'on appelle faire de bonnes affaires et servir surtout pour soi'; *ibid.*, p.337.



19. Design for a 'vase sans règle' for a dessert service for the comte d'Adhémar. Manufacture royale de Sèvres, workshop of François Rémond. 1783. Ink on paper. (Private collection, Paris).

observer did, however, amend his verdict on 8th August following his return from London: 'I did not speak enough about our ambassador's establishment. He has been treated so harshly on his lack of entertaining that the truth demands I say how well he is currently housed. His *hôtel* is of a magnificent studied elegance and his furnishings are as beautiful as they are tasteful. He does the honours very courteously at his table, which is well served.'¹⁶ Evidently as watchful as ever when it came to allowances, Bombelles returned several times to those enjoyed by the comte d'Adhémar: 'apart from the 100,000 écus allocated [...] for his London establishment, the garde-meuble [of the Crown] has provided him with up to 138,000 livres'.¹⁷ His information came from Thierry de Ville d'Avray himself, who, on the subject of the demands made by the court favourites, mentioned that the chapter on M. d'Adhémar was '*très volumineux*'.¹⁸

The comte de Tilly also frequented the French embassy while in London, and described it in his memoirs as 'quite a good house, which looked more like that of a wealthy individual than one representing this great State as was maintained by his predecessors'.¹⁹ If we could discount the unfounded rumour of a plan to construct a new residence, and also moderate the comments made by Bombelles, we would be forced to admit that the comte d'Adhémar, having found a residence to his liking, did indeed

¹⁶ 'Je n'ai point assez parlé de l'établissement de notre ambassadeur. On l'a traité si sévement sur son peu de représentation que la vérité veut que je dise combien en ce moment il est bien logé. Son hôtel est d'une recherche magnifique et son ameublement est aussi beau que de bon goût. Il fait très honnêtement les honneurs de sa table, qui est bien servie.'; *ibid.*, p.337.

¹⁷ '... indépendamment des cent mille écus donnés [...] pour son établissement à Londres, il lui a été fourni par le garde-meuble [de la Couronne] jusqu'à concurrence de cent trente huit mille livres'; *ibid.*, p.66, entry dated 16th October 1785.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.85, entry dated 25th November 1785. Bombelles himself, who would be appointed envoy to Lisbon, received 24,000 livres of 'meubles apparents' from the Garde-Meuble de la Couronne.

¹⁹ '... une assez bonne maison, qui était plutôt l'image de celle d'un particulier riche que de ce grand état qu'y avaient tenu ses prédecesseur'; Melchior-Bonnet, *op. cit.* (note 9), p.190. The inventory made at the death of the comte d'Adhémar mentions a note for 600 livres from Tilly in London on 6th July 1784. This was probably related to the settlement of a serious dispute that had brought him into conflict with his creditor, Smith; *ibid.*, pp.265–69.

²⁰ I thank Frances Buckland and David Peters, and the assistance of Christie's,

establish a dignified embassy worthy of France's diplomatic presence. The elegance witnessed by Bombelles and Tilly is corroborated by the catalogue of the sale of the contents, held by Christie's on the premises from 17th to 22nd of March 1788, following the ambassador's recall:

Catalogue of the superlatively rich and elegant Household Furniture, French Plate Glasses of distinguished Magnitude, Beauty and Perfection; Brilliant cut-glass and Or moulu Chandeliers, Girandoles, etc., Fine Sevre, Dresden and Oriental Porcelane, Desert Frames, Sevre Biscuit Figures, Bronzes, Superb French Clocks, a most capital and valuable Set of Goblin Tapestry, Four Silver Tureens singularly elegant in Design and of exquisite Workmanship, Cabinet of very rare fine old raised Japan, and a Profusion of most valuable and curious Articles: the property of His Excellency Comte D'Adhémar, Late Ambassador from His Most Christian Majesty, returned to France at his Excellency's House, Hyde Park Corner, Piccadilly [...]. N.B. On Wednesday the 19th will be sold on the Premises his Excellency's most Capital and Valuable Collection of Pictures.

A second sale was held on 2nd and 3rd May and included domestic furnishings and several unsold items from the earlier auction: 'A catalogue of all the reserved part of the elegant Household Furniture, fine Sevre Porcelane, large French plates of glass, brilliant cut-glass Lustres, valuable Fixtures, and a great variety of curious Effects [...] comprising those superlative unique well-known Olive-coloured Japan Vases, with or-moulu candelabras, cabinets of the rare old Japan, the remaining stock of wines, thirty Bedsteads and Bedding, etc.'. The British aristocracy, aesthetically francophile, did not waste the opportunity to stock up at the sale, in direct competition with London's leading merchants.²⁰

It is extremely difficult to identify the Parisian suppliers to the comte d'Adhémar since the inventory taken after his death mentions no papers relating to the period.²¹ On the other hand, his creditors in 1790 must have been his suppliers in 1783; suppliers such as Charles-Raymond Grandcher, owner of the Petit Dunkerque, an extremely fashionable shop at the time, and Dominique Daguerre, the famous *marchand-mercier*.

As soon as he was appointed and even before he could benefit from the king's generosity, d'Adhémar had borrowed 30,000 livres from Baudart de Sainte-James, banker to the court, probably in order to fund the necessary expenses of setting up his residence.²² His first prestigious purchase seems to have been made on 8th April 1783 for the sum of 1,800 livres, for 'a desk with filing cabinet and clock case with a movement by Nepveu,

London, for providing me with photocopies of the two annotated sale catalogues.

²¹ AN, Y 14353, 17th November 1790, and Minutier central des notaires, XXIX 600, inventory dated 23rd November 1790.

²² AN, Minutier Central des notaires, CVI 524, dated 28th February 1783. Adhémar mortgaged the estate of Thun which he had purchased on 18th May 1782.

²³ '... un riche bureau de marqueterie avec serre-papier et pendule mouvement fait par Nepveu, dans sa boîte, le tout première partie sur un fond bleu, le bureau à trois tiroirs, à huit pieds, forme de pilasters contournés de chaque côté sortant des pieds, se réunissent à autre pied rentrant en dessous et servant de support; il est enrichi de carderon, de mascarons de différents caractères, de pieds de biches sur le haut des pieds, de cadres et autres accessoires; le serre papier est à six pilasters aussi enrichi de cadres moulurés et mascarons, rosettes, et de pieds carrés à feuilles en voulure; et la boîte de la pendule est terminée au haut d'une lampe antique ornée de chaque côté de mascarons, guirlandes de laurier, supportée par une tige de bronze doré, accompagnée de deux figures de bronze assises et penchées, représentant la France et l'Afrique, placées sur un pied ceinturé à deux panneaux de marqueterie à mosaïque, séparés dans le milieu par un quadré fond bleu relevé d'un médaillon à sujet de quatre enfants de bas-reliefs occupés à la géométrie, avec socle quadré long en ébène à moulures d'oves et avant corps à cannelures – le tout en bronze



20. A 'vase Choiseul' with gilt-bronze mounts, from a dessert service for the comte d'Adhémar. Manufacture royale de Sèvres, workshop of François Rémond. 1783. (Photograph courtesy of Sotheby's, Monaco).



21. Design for a 'vase Choiseul' for a dessert service for the comte d'Adhémar. Manufacture royale de Sèvres, workshop of François Rémond. 1783. Ink on paper. (Private collection, Paris).

all in metal marquetry on a blue ground, the desk with three drawers and eight legs, formed as pilasters with shaped upper sections, with curved stretchers linked to each leg and meeting in the middle where a central foot serves as a support; the desk is embellished with rounded mouldings, different kinds of masks, hairy paw feet at the tops of the legs, frames and other ornaments; the filing cabinet has six pilasters, is also embellished with frames, mouldings, masks and rosettes, and square feet with curving leaves; the clock case is capped by an antique lamp decorated on each side with masks and laurel garlands, standing on a gilt bronze stem, with two bronze figures, seated and leaning, representing France and Africa, set on a curved base with two panels of mosaic marquetry, with in the centre a blue-ground square panel with a low-relief medallion of four children with attributes of Geometry, with a moulded ebony rectangular base, with egg and dart moulding and a projecting fluted front section, all in gilt bronze. Length 72 by 32 pouces in width, height 29 pouces. Height of the filing cabinet and clock combined 51 pouces. This piece, the only one of its kind, comes from the Julliot sale, no. 711 in his catalogue'.²³

Similarly, as early as 7th March, he chose from the Manufacture royale des Gobelins four pieces of tapestry from the *Nouvelles Indes* series, woven using the low-warp technique in the workshop of Jacques Neilson: *Le cheval rayé*, *Les taureaux*, *Le roi porté par les maures* and *Le combat des animaux*.²⁴ The ambassador

emphasised that these tapestries were destined for his London residence, and his desire 'to create in England a taste for this product of French industry'.²⁵ The ambiguous wording of the order caused concern at the manufactory about who was responsible for payment: was this a gift from the king, a purchase by the ministry of Foreign Affairs or a private purchase?²⁶ It was, in fact, a private purchase the diplomat had to pay. This he did, in instalments from 1785 onwards, but he received a reduction of one sixth of the total price of 16,226 livres.²⁷

He was less fortunate with the royal Sèvres manufactory, which refused him any discount on the plates, biscuit sculpture and vases which he had ordered and the production of which he oversaw down to the smallest detail. In his letter of 25th April 1783 clarifying the status of the commission, he added: 'Please ensure that the biscuits to be supplied to me have no lustre at all and that the plates are, as far as possible, free of blemishes'.²⁸ The 72 'assiettes unies', costing 15 livres each, formed part of a dessert service decorated with a 'wide fillet of burnished and matt gold' that was delivered on 17th September with eighteen 'comptoirs unis' (nine round and nine oval), and a punch bowl and mortar,²⁹ for a total of 2,911 livres.³⁰ The biscuit sculpture consisted of groups and figures and, among the former, *L'Amour conduit par la folie*, its pendant and two plinths, a group of fountains with Hymen on top, a group of Vestals with putti and plinth, the group of *L'Amour nourri par l'espérance*, its pendant and plinths;

doré. Long. 72 sur 32 po[uces] de larg., Hauteur 29 po. Hauteur du serre papier compris la pendule 51 po. — Ce morceau unique en son genre vient de la vente du fond de Julliot, no. 711 de son cat'.; Lebeuf sale, Paris, 8th April 1783, lot 208. It was purchased by the dealer Jean-Baptiste-Pierre Lebrun, husband of the artist Elisabeth Vigée, on behalf of Adhémar. The following lot was the filing cabinet and clock. Julliot's sale took place in December 1777. Lord Harrington, a regular visitor to the embassy, purchased the table at Adhémar's sale on 22nd March 1788: 'a curious elegant library table covered with leather, the frame richly inlaid and ornamented with lapis lazuli and or-moulu mountings'. A desk of this type was in the Rothschild-Rosebery collections at Mentmore, sold Sotheby Parke-Bernet, New York, 18th–20th May 1977, lot 52; see B. Lasic: 'A display of opulence: Alfred de Rothschild and the visual recording of Halton House', *Furniture History* 40 (2004), p.141, fig.4. See also A. Pradère: 'Julliot and the fashion for Boulle furniture', sale catalogue, Christie's, London, 14th–15th December 2005. With thanks to John Whitehead for his assistance in translating the description of the desk.

²⁴ M. Fenaille: *Etat général des Tapisseries de la Manufacture des Gobelins*, Paris 1907, IV, pp.62 and 67.

²⁵ '... de faire naître en Angleterre le goût de ce produit de l'industrie française'; AN, O¹ 1075, sheet 42.

²⁶ AN, O¹ 1141, fol.295.

²⁷ The tapestries were placed in the ground-floor salon in London, with chairs also covered in Gobelins tapestry, and were purchased by Nichols for 460 gns on 17th March 1788.

²⁸ 'Je vous prie d'observer que les biscuits qu'on me fournira n'ayent point de luisant et que les assiettes soient sans tache autant qu'on le pourra'; Sèvres, Archives, Manufacture nationale de Sèvres (cited hereafter as AMNS), H 3.

²⁹ AMNS, Vy 9, fol.39.

³⁰ '... large fillet d'or bruni par effet et ombré'. All of these pieces, with the exception of the mortar (without doubt an oversight), were gilded by Leguay and fired on 2nd June 1783 (AMNS, VI 2, fol.62) and burnished by Lecot from 8th to 14th July (AMNS, Vj 2, fol.152v). The service was also sold to Lord Harrington on 22nd March 1788: 'a capital dessert service of the Sevre porcelain with deep burnished gold border, containing a large bowl, 1 ice pail, 8 oval composts, 8 round ditto and 60 plates'.



22. Louis XVI in coronation robes, by Antoine Callet and studio. Frame by François-Charles Buteux. 1782. Canvas, 274.5 by 194.7 cm. (National Trust, Waddesdon Manor).

among the figures were two antique lamps with white plinths, *Mélancolie* and its pendant,³¹ a woman entering a bath and its plinth, four children representing the Elements, four divinities, four plinths and twenty-four small vases (*vases Parseval*) in several sizes, some with bas-relief decoration, others plain. All this for the sum of 1,756 livres.³²

The most unusual part of the order placed by the comte d'Adhémar was a series of thirty-three white vases intended as table decoration which were invoiced at 4,284 livres on 17th September; of these there were twenty-one vases with gilt lines: five

³¹ A figure of *Mélancolie* and its pendant, *La méditation*, were among twelve divinities and their plinths, a group of fountains and a Hymen, as well as three tea services, that the comte d'Adhémar presented to George, Prince of Wales, on 17th March 1784. Being an official gift, Adhémar received the standard nine percent reduction in the price (AMNS, Vy 9, fol.92).

³² They were sold on 18th March 1788, section VIII of the sale, lot nos.2–21. Among the purchasers were the Duchess of Queensberry, Lord Harrington, Lord Sefton and Lord Aldeborough.

³³ ‘... de faire livrer les vases à M. Reymond [sic] ciseleur au fur et à mesure qu'ils seront faits afin de donner du temps pour la monture en bronze’; ‘l'on commencera à fournir à M.

‘vases Choiseul’ (240 livres each), three ‘vases cariatides’ (264 livres each), five ‘vases cygnes’ (120 livres each), three ‘vases sans règles’ (192 livres each) and five ‘vases cabinets’ (72 livres each). The other twelve vases had no gilding: three ‘vases bassinoires’ (48 livres each), three ‘vases Bachelier’ (72 livres each), three ‘vases cassolettes’ (72 livres each) and three ‘vases allemands ou danois’ (60 livres each). In the same letter of 25th April, the comte d'Adhémar had insisted ‘to have the vases delivered to the chaser M. Reymond [sic] as soon as each one is made so as to allow time for them to be mounted in bronze’. Three days later, the recipient of the comte d'Adhémar's letter, most probably Antoine Regnier, director of the manufactory, replied to the ambassador: ‘we will start to supply vases to M. Raymond [sic] in 10 or 12 days and thereafter as they come out of the kiln, as for the most difficult to fire successfully, they will also be sent to the chaser, even as seconds, so he can get on with his garniture’. The factory's kiln records partly confirm the order, recording on 29th July, ‘7 vases for M. d'Adhémar, gilt lines, Leguay [gilder]’, and on 20th August, ‘13 vases, different shapes for M. d'Adhémar (gilded by) Decambos, Lafrance, Lecot’.³³ Following the return of nine pieces the order was reduced to a garniture of twenty-four vases, for which the bronze-founder François Rémond charged 4,774 livres including the price of gilding for each vase: four ‘vases Choiseul’ (240 livres each), two ‘vases cariatides’ also (240 livres each), four ‘vases cygnes’ (216 livres each), two ‘vases bassinoires’ (192 livres each), two ‘vases Bachelier’ (192 livres each), two ‘vases allemands-danois’ (168 livres each), two ‘vases sans règle’ (192 livres each), four ‘vases cabinets’ (150 livres each) and two ‘vases cassolettes’ (192 livres each).³⁴ Four drawings for four vases with gilt-bronze mounts are preserved in the bronze-maker's archive, some with inscriptions: ‘arrange the mount in such a way that it can serve equally well as a wine or ice cream cooler’ for the *vase sans règle* (Fig.19); ‘vase for fruit, one on each side’ for the ‘*vase Choiseul*’ (Fig.21), of which one pair is known (Fig.20).³⁵

Among the most traditional gifts from the king, the official royal portraits served to reinforce the sovereign's symbolic presence as represented by the ambassador. It was for this purpose that in 1780 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs commissioned, from the painter Antoine Callet, a full-length portrait of the king in coronation robes. The original, costing 12,000 livres, was hung in the minister's apartment at Versailles, with a rich frame carved by François-Charles Buteux costing 1,800 livres. Every year, one or more copies were made for French embassies abroad at a cost of 3,000 livres per copy and 1,800 livres per frame. Of the two copies put into storage on 19th January 1782, one re-emerged in February 1783 to be given to the comte d'Adhémar ‘pour la salle du dais de l'hôtel de Londres, à demeure’.³⁶ The portrait was not, therefore, a personal gift and the ambassador should have passed it on to his successor, the marquis de La Luzerne. The whereabouts of this official effigy of Louis XVI (Fig.22) was unknown, before its reappearance in the Music Room of Powderham

Raymond [sic] des vases dans 10 ou 12 jours, et successivement à fur et mesure qu'il en sortira du four, quant aux plus difficiles à réussir, ils seront également envoyés au ciseleur, même en rebut afin de le mettre à même de faire sa garniture’; ‘13 vases, différentes formes pour M. d'Adhémar, Decambos, Lafrance, Lecot’; AMNS, VI 2, fols.65 and 66v, kiln firings of 29th July and 20th August 1783. On 22nd November 1784, the comte d'Adhémar returned a quantity of vases but these were most probably the small *vases Parseval* in biscuit porcelain (AMNS, H 3); see R. Savill: *The Wallace Collection Catalogue of Sèvres Porcelain*, London 1988, I, pp.207, 262, 266 and 335.

³⁴ AN, 183 AQ 4, fol.315.

³⁵ Cartier sale, Sotheby's, Monaco, 25th–27th November 1979, lot 116. In March



23. *Marie-Antoinette hunting*, by Louis-Auguste Brun (Brun de Versoix). c.1780. Canvas, 99.5 by 80 cm. (Musée national du château de Versailles).



24. *Yolande de Polastron, duchesse de Polignac, at the pianoforte*, by Elisabeth-Louise Vigée-Lebrun. 1783. Canvas, 92 by 72 cm. (National Trust, Waddesdon Manor).

Castle, the seat of the Courtenay family, from where it was subsequently acquired by a Rothschild family trust in 2006. It is now on display in the White Drawing Room at Waddesdon Manor.

In his account of 3rd March 1784 Bombelles reports with scandalised smugness that the comte d'Adhémar, 'constantly offering up sacrifices to "l'idole"' who had procured the posting for him, 'has decorated his bedroom in London with a portrait of Mme la duchesse de Polignac, and that that of the queen is to be found only in a passage'.³⁷ It could be said that the greater scandal would have been to place the portrait of the queen in the bedchamber. The fact that the painting was in a corridor, however, implies that it was of small dimensions and not an official portrait. It could be the 'painting showing the present queen riding side-saddle in the original gilt-wood frame' that was valued at 24 livres in 1790 at the château de Thun.³⁸ Several equestrian portraits of the queen are known (Fig.23), all painted by Louis-Auguste Brun, an artist from the Swiss canton of Vaud who was much admired by those in Marie-Antoinette's circle, many of whom he portrayed, including, notably, d'Adhémar himself. Had Bombelles returned to London the following year, he could have seen a new official portrait of the queen, commissioned by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, hanging in one of the embassy's drawing rooms. It was a copy by the artist herself which had cost 2,800 livres, including 400 livres for the frame by Buteux, and which was in October 1784 'remis par ordre de la

Reine à M. le comte d'Adhémar, Ambassadeur du Roi à la Cour de Londres'.

As to the portrait of 'l'idole', Tilly also commented in July 1784 that 'in an adjoining room' was 'the portrait of Mme de Polignac, in all her beauty, to whom all the skill of Mme Le Brun had done justice'.³⁹ Once again, Vigée-Lebrun made several copies of her portraits of the duchess, and it is difficult to distinguish between the portrait with straw hat, originally painted in 1782, and the one in which she is singing beside a pianoforte, painted the following year.⁴⁰ Knowing the ambassador's taste for the theatre and music, the temptation is to opt for the latter (Fig.24). The artist does not seem to have painted the diplomat himself, whom she found 'si spirituel et si aimable',⁴¹ but the presence in London of her portraits of the queen and the duchess was enough to establish her reputation, which was crowned by the verdict of her distinguished colleague Sir Joshua Reynolds. Questioned about the two portraits by his student James Northcote, while on a visit to the embassy at the end of 1787 shortly before the dispersal of its contents, Reynolds replied that he considered Vigée-Lebrun's talent to be superior to that of Van Dyck.⁴²

An indiscreet remark by Thierry de Ville d'Avray, the newly appointed and extremely zealous Commissaire Général of the Garde-Meuble de la Couronne who was very quick to criticise the management of his predecessor, Pierre-Elisabeth de Fontanieu, revealed to Bombelles that the furnishing of the new embassy in London had cost the Garde-Meuble 138,000 livres.

³⁷ 1788 the vases were bought by Lord Lucan, Lord Duncannon, Brummel, Thomas Honner (?), Vulliamy and Dawson.

³⁸ Paris, Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (hereafter AAE), vol.2089, fol.18; see also S. Medlam: 'Callet's portrait of Louis XVI: a picture frame as diplomatic tool', *Furniture History* 43 (2007), pp.143–54; and J. Carey: 'New Paintings at Waddesdon Manor', *Apollo* 168 (September 2008), pp.55–56.

³⁹ '... sacrifiant constamment à "l'idole" [...] a orné sa chambre à coucher de Londres d'un portrait de Mme la duchesse de Polignac, et que celui de la Reine ne se voit que dans un passage'; Bombelles, *op. cit.* (note 4), p.313.

⁴⁰ '... tableau représentant la reine actuelle peinte en amazone dans son cadre de bois doré';

AAE, vol.2089, fols.45–46.

³⁹ '... dans une pièce voisine ornée du portrait de Madame de Polignac dans toute sa beauté, à qui tout l'art de Mme Le Brun avait fait justice'; Melchior-Bonnet, *op. cit.* (note 9), p.202.

⁴⁰ X. Salmon: 'La Duchesse de Polignac au chapeau de paille', *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 3 (1988), pp.13–14; and *idem*: exh. cat. *Deux acquisitions exceptionnelles*, Versailles (Château de Versailles) 2000, pp.5–8.

⁴¹ E. Vigée-Lebrun: *Souvenirs*, Paris 1984, p.264.

⁴² J. Northcote: *The Life of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, London 1819, II, pp.99–100; cited in J. Baillio: 'Marie-Antoinette et ses enfants par Mme Vigée-Lebrun', *L'Oeil* 310 (1981), p.90.

As the suppliers' bills for the years 1781–83 are missing it is impossible to verify this sum, which exceeds the 106,533 livres spent in 1783 and which rose even further in 1784.⁴³ The initial request to Fontanieu by d'Ahémar had the support of Vergennes himself, who wrote on 15th February 1783:

M. le Cte d'Adhémar, Ambassadeur du Roi at the court of His British Majesty, spoke to you, Sir, about a throne canopy, which he would like to obtain from His Majesty's Garde meuble for the room of the French Embassy in London in which His Majesty's portrait is to be hung. Would you be so kind, Sir, as to place before the King Monsieur d'Adhémar's request for this object, and to inform me of his Majesty's decision. If he is so good as to agree to this item of furniture, it would in this case be part of the furnishings belonging to the King at the residence of His Majesty's ambassador at the Court in London⁴⁴

The new ambassador did not hesitate to write to the king himself with a more considerable request on 23rd February:

The comte d'Adhémar entreats the King to be so kind as to arrange for him to be supplied with a throne canopy and altar furnishings from the Garde Meuble. These objects, costly to have made new, are normally found in the residences of ambassadors whose post one inherits. However, as the comte d'Adhémar is not replacing anyone he is obliged to take on the exceptional costs of a completely new establishment, and as he still finds himself responsible for the expenses of maintaining the chapels, previously met by the King, he hopes that all these considerations will move the King to again give him the assistance which he expects from his munificence. Similar favour was granted at Constantinople;⁴⁵ these effects remain at the embassy and belong to the King. [signed] Le Cte d'Adhémar [annotated by the king] Fine, to remain at the Embassy in England.⁴⁶

Did Louis XVI suspect that behind this request for a canopy lay, in fact, the entire furnishings of an audience hall: not just the '*impériale à la romaine*' but also a monumental throne, twelve other chairs '*à la reine*', curtains for five windows and copious amounts of red cut velvet and gold trim for the upholstery and making-up of the above? The velvet was supplied by the silk merchants Nau-Germain et Compagnie for 15,930 livres, and the gold trim by Charles-André Lhéritier for 41,121 livres. These sumptuous materials were entrusted to the upholsterer Claude-François Capin, who made the curtains and upholstered the seat furniture and canopy at a cost of 6,222 livres. The seat furniture was made by François II Foliot at a cost of 1,382 livres. The



25. French throne chair, attributed to François II Foliot and Toussaint Foliot. 1783. (Worcester City Art Gallery and Museum).

carving, by Toussaint Foliot, cost 18,572 livres and the gilding, by Marie-Catherine Renon, widow of Gaspard-Marie Bardou, added a further 10,478 livres to the price.⁴⁷ In the absence of bills for the year 1783, it is impossible to determine how they were ornamented. The most we learn is that work was carried out on the helmets of the dais canopy by the locksmith Jean Courbin in May 1784,⁴⁸ and by the *plumassier*, Jacques-Roch Donnebecq, who made the two '*panaches à la romaine*', of sixteen feathers each, for the helmets. Although the canopy itself seems to have vanished, it is possible that the throne is the one now owned by the Worcester City Art Gallery and Museum (Fig. 25), with a provenance from Aston Hall, the large seventeenth-century country house that was turned into a cultural institution in the nineteenth century and inaugurated by Queen Victoria in 1858.⁴⁹ Known as 'Queen Victoria's chair', this is, in fact, a French chair that bears all the characteristics of a piece by the Foliot family, made between 1780 and 1785. It seems it was simply 'Victorianised' by a British upholsterer and enriched with metal lion's-paw feet to

⁴³ AN, O¹ 3534, dossier 1.

⁴⁴ 'M. le Cte d'Adhémar, Ambassadeur du Roi près de Sa Majesté Britannique vous a parlé, Monsieur, d'un Dais qu'il désirerait obtenir du Garde meuble de Sa Majesté pour la salle de l'hôtel de France à Londres, dans laquelle doit être placé le portrait de Sa Majesté. Je vous prie, Monsieur, de bien vouloir mettre sous les yeux du Roi la demande de M. d'Adhémar pour cet objet, et de m'informer de la décision de Sa Majesté. Si Elle a la bonté d'accorder ce meuble, en ce cas il ferait partie du mobilier appartenant au Roi dans l'hôtel de l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté à la Cour de Londres . . .'; AN, O¹ 3298, dossier 11.

⁴⁵ In 1778 the Garde-Meuble de la Couronne commissioned the furniture for the ceremonial hall of this embassy, including a throne and its canopy along with twelve armchairs, to the designs of Jacques Gondoin, which were made by the Folios; AN, O¹ 3533 and O¹ 3626.

⁴⁶ 'Le comte d'Adhémar supplie le Roi de vouloir bien ordonner qu'il lui soit fourni du Garde Meuble, un dais et un ornement d'autel. Ces objets onéreux à faire faire neufs, se trouvent

ordinairement dans les maisons des Ambassadeurs que l'on succède. Mais comme le Cte d'Adhémar ne remplace personne, qu'il est obligé aux dépenses extraordinaires d'un établissement tout nouveau, qu'il se trouve encore chargé des frais d'entretien des Chapelles que le Roi payait autrefois, il espère que toutes ces considérations détermineront Sa Majesté à lui donner le nouveau secours qu'il attend de sa munificence. Semblable grâce a été accordée à Constantinople ces effets restent à l'Ambassade et appartiennent au Roi. [signed] Le Cte d'Adhémar [annotated by the king]: Bon, pour rester à l'Ambassade d'Angleterre'.

⁴⁷ AN, O¹ 3534, dossier 1.

⁴⁸ AN, O¹ 3630, dossier 1.

⁴⁹ L. Willoughby: 'The City of Worcester', *The Connoisseur* 37 (September–October 1913), p. 14.

⁵⁰ ' . . . très grand et ceint sur le plan et l'élévation, enrichi de branches de lys, frise à l'antique, feuilles de refente, rosace et toute l'architecture taillée de feuilles d'olive, perles et rais de cœur, le tout travaillé dans l'épaisseur du bois . . .'; AN, O¹ 3533 and O¹ 3626.



26. Crucifix and altar candelabra, by Louis-Claude Porcher. Probably made for the chapel of the French Embassy, London. 1783–84. Silver, 74 by 28 cm. (cross); 58 by 20 cm. (candelabra). (Musée national du château de Versailles).

make it more suitable for the queen. The woodwork and carving are very similar to the ambassadorial throne in the French embassy in Constantinople that was made by the same craftsmen to the designs of the architect Jacques Gondoin, then designer for the Garde-Meuble de la Couronne. The bills for the chair have been preserved, and notably the one from Toussaint Foliot, who executed the carving of an armchair which was ‘very large and waisted in plan and elevation, embellished with lily branches, antique frieze, scrolled leaves, rosette, and the whole structure trimmed with olive leaves, pearls and *rais de cœur*, all carved into the thickness of the wood . . .’.⁵⁰

Similarly, did Louis XVI guess that behind the request for altar furnishings were hidden the expenses of an entire chapel? From 22nd September 1783 (Charles?) Le Glaive supplied ‘a large altar-card with a lavabo bowl and a gospel with rich gold lace decoration, bearing the King’s arms, gold-tooled and illuminated’.⁵¹ The bookseller-printer Antoine-Chrétien Boudet supplied hymnals and missals,⁵² while on 12th November the textile merchant Jean-Baptiste-Pierre Dufourny delivered albs, surplices, altar cloths, corporals, amices, purificators, hand towels, stole protectors, palls and covers for the chalice and paten, in *demi-holland* or *baptiste* cloth, mostly trimmed with ‘dentelle d’Angleterre’.⁵³ The liturgical paraments, delivered on the same day by Geneviève-Angélique Monvoisin, widow of the embroiderer Léger Tremeau, were of white cloth embroidered with flowers

in four colours, and consisted of the altar frontal and retable, a chasuble and stole, maniple and the chalice veil, all trimmed with gold fringe and lace with the arms of France and Navarre embroidered in gold in relief.⁵⁴ The name of the goldsmith, Robert-Joseph Auguste, also appears, against the sum of 4,827 livres 15 sols,⁵⁵ as does that of the coffer-maker François-Etienne Prieur, who delivered on 17th April 1784, following an order placed on 14th February, an oak coffer ‘for use by Monsieur l’Ambassadeur of France in London. The whole costing a total of 650 livres’.⁵⁶

Auguste seems to have subcontracted the order, judging by the silver crucifix and altar candelabra, which bear the hallmark of Louis-Claude Porcher and are marked for 1783–84 (Fig.26). They were presented to the museum at the château of Versailles in 1954 by the Revd Father Jacquemin, Superior of the Marist Fathers in London, via Jean Varin, cultural attaché of the French Embassy.⁵⁷ These three objects, along with two silver vases made by Robert III Hennell in 1850, came latterly from the chapel of Notre-Dame de France in London, which was destroyed by bombing in the Second World War. Tradition had it that, from 1850 to 1876, they were used in the Catholic chapel of Weybridge, Esher, where the remains of Louis-Philippe, Marie-Amélie and the other members of the Orléans family in exile at Claremont were interred. Part of their history can certainly be retraced, for in 1826 the Grand Aumonier de France, le Prince-Cardinal de Croÿ, submitted to Charles X a proposal for the ‘Restitution of a deposit of silverware and church furnishings from the Chapel of the French Embassy in London’ which, it was stated, had been given to the embassy by Queen Marie-Antoinette.⁵⁸ Such pious inaccuracies, testament to the sensitivities of the time, should not obscure the chain of sincere devotion that enabled these precious liturgical objects to survive intact through wars and revolutions, and retain their royal symbols of *fleurs de lys* and crowns.

The objects were sent to the French embassy in London in the spring of 1784 after the duchesse de Polignac had personally interceded with Thierry de Ville d’Avray, who was still reluctant to deal with affairs relating to the term of his predecessor, and who responded thus on 18th May: ‘Madame la Duchesse, I do not know how long it is since the King ordered the throne canopy and Chapel intended for M. l’Ambassadeur in England, but I do know that everything has been ready for a fortnight.⁵⁹ I have consequently gone so far as to instruct that the secretary of the embassy be notified, and that the packing and consignment to London be undertaken’.⁶⁰ The order was issued the following day: ‘Delorme will go to M. Capin to take the measurements needed to make the cases for transporting the throne canopy and

⁵¹ ‘. . . un grand canon d’autel avec son lavabo et son évangile, orné d’une campanne d’or très riche avec les armes du Roi, dorée et enluminée’; AN, O¹ 3320, fol. 164v.

⁵² AN, O¹ 3534, dossier 1.

⁵³ AN, O¹ 3320, fol. 170.

⁵⁴ AN, O¹ 3320, fol. 176v; the same delivery also included the consecrated altar stone.

⁵⁵ AN, O¹ 3534, dossier 1.

⁵⁶ ‘. . . un coffre en bois de chêne d’un pouce d’épaisseur, de 3 pieds 3 pouces de longeur sur 22 pouces de largeur et 17 pouces de hauteur, couvert en vache noire en plein, barré sur tous les sens avec un double fond; fermant à deux serrures à moraillons garnies avec leurs clefs, le tout de fer poli; ferré au corps de coins, bandes et équerres, le tout en fer forgé avec quatre forts portants sur les quatre côtés. Lequel coffre, garni de tous ses compartiments, caissons et doubles fonds doublés en peau chamois galonné, renferme l’argenterie et ornements, linge, dentelles et accessoires d’une

chapelle servant à Monsieur l’Ambassadeur de France à Londres. Le tout montant à la somme de 650 livres’; AN, O¹ 3321, fol. 5 and AN, O¹ 3630.

⁵⁷ ‘Restitution d’un dépôt d’objets d’argenterie et ornements d’église de la Chapelle de l’Ambassade de France à Londres’; inv. no.V 3544 1–3. I thank Gérard Mabille for confirming the hallmarks which, other than the goldsmith’s mark, are the discharge mark of Henri Clavel and a crowned ‘U’ for the date letter.

⁵⁸ AN, O³ 57.

⁵⁹ The armchair for under the canopy was not yet compete on 24th April; AN, O¹ 3588, order number 107.

⁶⁰ ‘Madame la Duchesse, j’ignore depuis quel temps le Roi a ordonné le dais et la chapelle destinés à M. l’Ambassadeur d’Angleterre, mais je sais que tout est prêt depuis quinze jours. J’ai même en conséquence ordonné qu’on prévint M. le secrétaire d’ambassade et que l’emballement et l’expédition fussent faits pour Londres’; AN, O¹ 3574, dossier 3.



27. One of a pair of lacquered cabinets with bronze decoration, by Claude-Charles Saunier. c.1782. 128 by 74.5 by 44 cm. (Galerie Aveline, Paris).

its accoutrements to London, and call in at the Garde Meuble to see the coffer for the Chapel'.⁶¹

The bill from Martin Paillard-Delorme, the indispensable trunk-maker of the rue de Grenelle-Saint-Honoré, contains the last known details of the furnishings of the audience room. Orders dated 23rd and 25th October 1783 required him to make ten cases: six to contain two armchairs each, one for the frames of the tapestries and three for the curtains and tie-backs with golden braids and tassels. The cases were shipped from Calais in October and November 1783. On 4th June 1784 he was commissioned to make seven further cases for 'velvet drapery for the throne canopy, of the same length, the holy gifts and other accessories' for the throne;⁶² for the cresting and the two sides in carved and gilded wood bearing the arms of the king, and a case

for the helmet; two others, each for a helmet with its top plumes; another for the silver and ornaments of the chapel; one for the frame of the canopy. The final case, ordered on 16th June, was for the red wool velvet needed to carpet the platform of the dais. All these were shipped from Calais on 21st June. The packing costs amounted to 1,840 livres, the transportation costs to 519 livres. Paillard-Delorme's bill for 2,369 livres was settled for 2,229 livres.

D'Adhémar's term as ambassador was not a particularly brilliant one, and the state of his health – after having suffered an apoplectic attack in the middle of a reception in Queen Charlotte's apartment in March 1785 – led him to prefer the air of Spa and Versailles to that of London, which did not agree with him. His replacement was selected in November 1787 and, on 16th January 1788, his successor, the marquis de La Luzerne, presented his credentials to George III. The only person left to defend the recalled ambassador was his wife: 'When I learnt that the comte d'Adhémar had been struck down by a false attack of apoplexy at Saint James, in the palace of the King of England, I hastened to catch the post[coach], and raced to London to lavish care on him; it was pointless: the strength of his constitution quickly restored him to good health. Nonetheless, those who envied him used this episode to ruin him. They succeeded . . .'.⁶³ It has to be said that the comte d'Adhémar never entirely recovered from this attack.

Anne-César de La Luzerne, brother of the Bishop of Langres and of the Minister of the Navy, and whose nephew was, moreover, the brother-in-law of the comte de Montmorin, successor to Vergennes at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, was a professional diplomat who had already held positions in Munich and Philadelphia. The death of the eccentric Countess of Home allowed him to set himself up in noble style in Home House, Portman Square, one of the more beautiful residences in London, built by Robert Adam in 1776. There, the new ambassador was able to install the portraits of the king and queen, the furniture of the Audience Room and the chapel furnishings left behind by his predecessor. Of all the comte d'Adhémar's other furnishings, he seems to have bought only the Beauvais carpet from the drawing room.⁶⁴

The furnishings that had been used by the comte d'Adhémar were, therefore, dispersed chiefly in the sales held at the property between 17th and 22nd March 1788 and on 2nd and 3rd May of the same year. There, d'Adhémar's taste for dazzling Parisian craftsmanship was very much to the fore, particularly in respect of the mirrors, bronzes, clocks (by Lepaute, Ageron, Roque, Leroy, Goret and Le Nepveu), silver and porcelain: and the principal dinner service with its seven dozen plates and thirty soup plates, 'beautifully enamal'd in flowers and enriched with gold' and of 'French porcelane', suggesting it was not Sèvres. In fact,

⁶¹ 'Delorme ira chez M. Capin prendre les mesures nécessaires pour faire des caisses à l'effet de transporter à Londres le dais et ses dépendances et de passer au Garde Meuble pour voir le coffre de la Chapelle'; AN, O^r 3285, fol. 53v, order number 189.

⁶² '... les draperies en velours du dais, de leur longueur, les bonnes grâces et autres accessoires'; AN, O^r 3630 and O^r 3285 fol. 69, dated 7th June 1784, order no. 248 to Fleury, warehouseman, to deliver red velvet and its toile d'Alençon lining, for the platform.

⁶³ 'Lorsque j'appris que le comte d'Adhémar avait été frappé d'une fausse attaque d'apoplexie, à Saint James, dans le palais du roi d'Angleterre, je me hâtai de prendre la poste, et, je courus à Londres lui prodiguer mes soins. Ils furent inutiles: la vigueur de son tempérament le rendit vite à la santé. Néanmoins les envieux se servirent de cet accident pour le perdre. Ils parvinrent . . .'; Etienne-Léon, baron de La Mothe-Langon: *Mémoires de la comtesse*

d'Adhémar, Paris 1836, III, p. 319.

⁶⁴ Sale, Christie's, London, 18th March 1788, lot 26.

⁶⁵ The marquis de La Luzerne favoured the products of Sèvres more strongly and had the manufactory send him a plate from each of the new services they produced; AMNS, H 4, letter dated 10th April 1789.

⁶⁶ The set was re-sold at Christie's on the last day of a sale held from 18th to 22nd April 1793, lot 66.

⁶⁷ Sold, Sotheby's, New York, sale of Marella Agnelli, 23rd October 2004, lot 38. I thank Patrick Leperlier for bringing this to my notice. The sumptuous furnishings of Calonne's London residence were sold by Skinner and Dyke from 13th to 25th May 1793, but the sole known catalogue only contains the first two days of the sale, and a

d'Adhémar also had a taste for the porcelain of the Berlin royal manufactory and for Meissen, which was represented in far greater quantity than the Sèvres, Chantilly, Saint-Cloud and even Chelsea, although possibly simply on the grounds of cost.⁶⁵ Sèvres was still the most highly prized; apart from the dessert service specially commissioned for d'Adhémar in 1783 and sold in March 1788, a second service, probably purchased from Daguerre, was in the May sale. It included six dozen plates 'of the beautiful Seve porcelaine, most inimitably painted in flowers and enriched with burnished gold'. Where the sale catalogues do not indicate the provenance of the silks and furniture, it can be assumed that they were not of French manufacture, with the exception of the Gobelins tapestries⁶⁶ and the seat furniture (twenty-four armchairs and four sofas), which was covered in Gobelins tapestry, and the ten French chairs upholstered in petit point. Boulle is not mentioned in connection with the large writing desk, nor with a chest of drawers with a tortoiseshell ground. English production seems to have been quite well represented among the furniture, with cabinet-making ('Pembroke' tables), carpets (Wilton and Axminster), dust covers in Manchester cloth and vases in Derbyshire Blue John. The State Room remains the most difficult to reconstruct because the official furnishings were excluded from the sale and had already been sent to Home House.

The town house at Hyde Park Corner was to remain under French influence as it was let to Calonne, the former Contrôleur Général des Finances to Louis XVI who fled to London after his disgrace. Calonne was, moreover, one of the principal buyers at the May sale, purchasing twenty-five lots. He bought not only wines and some functional furniture, but some of the most beautiful lots, notably the pair of cabinets 'of the very fine old Japan of distinguished beauty and perfection, richly ornamented with or moulu, marble top and ditto shelf underneath', which had not sold at the auction of 17th March. It is possible that this was the pair of cabinets bearing the stamp of Claude-Charles Saunier (Fig.27), and therefore made under the direction of the *marchand-mercier* Daguerre, which later belonged to William Beckford.⁶⁷ On the same day Calonne also purchased the star lot, as featured on the cover of the sale catalogue: 'a pair of remarkable fine old olive coloured Japan vases, richly mounted, and supporting two superb six branch candelabras of or-moulu, most singularly elegant and unique'. This lot, too, had failed to sell on 22nd March, when it had been described more simply as: 'large old olive color Japan vases, supporting 2 superb 6 branch candelabras; the mounting etc. of singularly fine rich or-moulu in the utmost state of perfection'. These can be associated with a bill from the bronze-maker François Rémond to Daguerre dated 19th March 1783, to the amount of 1,050 livres for 'matt gilding of candelabra with twelve lily branches'.⁶⁸

part of the third. The sale catalogue has been studied by Angélique Gagneur: 'La Collection d'objets d'art de Ch. A. Calonne (1734–1802)', Diplôme d'études approfondies (Paris IV Sorbonne, 2003–04).

⁶⁵ '... dorure mate de girandoles à lys à douze branche'; AN, 183 AQ 2. The term 'girandole' is here used to mean bunches of candle arms (as with a bunch of flowers) destined to be placed onto porcelain vases. A more explicit description can be found in the stock of the bronze-caster Antoine-Philippe Pajot that included three blue porcelain vases 'pour mettre des girandoles (qui) ne sont point commencées'; AN, Minutier central des notaires, LXXII 423, 13th January 1777.

⁶⁶ AN, Minutier central des notaires, CVI 520, 12th May 1782.

⁶⁷ AN, Z 1 J 1184, 20th September 1788.

The comte d'Adhémar found it difficult to accept his forced retirement, 'golden' as it was, with an annual pension of 16,000 livres, and occupied his free time by improving the estates of Thun and Evecquemont, which he had acquired in 1782.⁶⁹ He installed his mother in the old château at Evecquemont, while he concentrated his efforts on Thun, which was nothing more than an old farm but where the materials necessary for building a new château had already been assembled. With the help of the architect Charles David, tonsured cleric of the Besançon diocese, d'Ahémar immersed himself in this work. While the French influence had prevailed at Hyde Park Corner, it was the '*goût anglais*' that dominated at Thun, furnished from purchases made in London. This taste extended into the garden, with its rare plants and animals, for which a pump originally from Bagatelle and given to him by the comte d'Artois was installed by the Perier brothers.⁷⁰

At a remove from the centre of power, d'Adhémar sought out his former colleagues. Bombelles, who met him on 17th August 1788 at the château de Dangu while visiting the baron de Breteuil, reported with brutal frankness: 'He finds it increasingly difficult to bear the debility of a body gradually being destroyed by a defect which is barely excused in young people. He still shows the glimmers of pleasant conversation and moderation in his discourse, very rare nowadays when people take pride in showing no respect for anything'.⁷¹ It seems this quality of restraint that Bombelles recognised in him for the second time could not withstand the knowledge that his reputation had declined at court, a fact revealed to him by his failure to be awarded the cordon Bleu, even though it had been promised to him in recognition of his good and loyal service. This, at least, is the explanation offered by Tilly: 'the fury at not having been made a knight of the order (of Saint Esprit) as quickly as he hoped subsequently turned him into a sort of revolutionary, who died several leagues from Paris, in a decorated farmhouse, in the uniform of the National Guard, displeased with a court which should have shown greater dissatisfaction with itself considering what it had done for him'.⁷² The comtesse d'Adhémar saw this as a denial of justice which pushed him into accepting a commission in the National Guard, but she concluded: 'When death took him from me he had reverted to his feelings of affection for Their Majesties and to his sense of high birth'.⁷³

Jean-Balthazar, comte d'Adhémar and de Montfalcon, of the former comtes souverains of Orange, Montélimar and Grignan; Maréchal des Camps et Armées du Roi; Chevalier of the royal and military Order of Saint Louis, and formerly ambassador of the king at the court of His Britannic Majesty; Premier écuyer to Madame Elisabeth of France; Grand Bailli d'épée of Meulan and of Mantes; and Governor of the city of Dieppe, died at Thun on 17th November 1790 and was buried two days later in the cemetery of Nôtre-Dame de Meulan.

⁷¹ 'Il soutient plus en plus avec peine la débilité d'un corps, qu'un vice qu'à peine l'on pardonne aux jeunes gens, achève de détruire. Il a encore les lueurs d'une conversation aimable et cette mesure dans ses discours bien rare en ce moment où l'on se pique de ne rien respecter'; Bombelles, *op. cit.* (note 4), p.287.

⁷² '... la rage de n'avoir pas été chevalier de l'ordre (du Saint-Esprit) aussi vite qu'il prétendait, en fit dans la suite une espèce de révolutionnaire, qui mourut à quelques lieues de Paris, dans une ferme ornée, sous l'habit de garde national, mécontent d'une cour qui devait l'être bien plus d'elle-même, en songeant à ce qu'elle avait fait pour lui'; Melchior-Bonnet, *op. cit.* (note 9), p.249.

⁷³ 'Lorsque la mort me l'a enlevé il était revenu aux sentiments de son affection pour LL. MM. et de sa haute naissance'; La Mothe-Langon, *op. cit.* (note 63), III, p.319.

Thomas Woolner's Wordsworth Memorial, 1851: Pre-Raphaelite sources and slips

by ANNE NEALE

THOMAS WOOLNER'S MEMORIAL to William Wordsworth in St Oswald's Church, Grasmere, Cumbria, of 1851 (Fig.28), has come to be regarded as a significant early example of Pre-Raphaelite sculpture.¹ Carved in relief in white marble, the memorial tablet includes a highly expressive portrait of the poet in profile, flanked by naturalistic floriated panels, evoking the Lakeland poet's famous fascination with wild flowers. Its claim to Pre-Raphaelitism, apart from its authorship, rests upon its truthfulness to nature in conveying the appearance and character of the poet and of the associated plants.²

For the Pre-Raphaelites, as for Wordsworth, conventionalised representations were anathema: 'Truth-to-Nature' was all. As William Holman Hunt succinctly put it, the basic artistic principle of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood was 'of painting all things from Nature without attempting to follow the manner of the early painters'.³ It is therefore surprising to discover that not only was Woolner's portrait based on a bust of Wordsworth by Francis Chantrey, executed thirty years before the poet's death, but also that the floriated panels were inspired by a medieval illuminated manuscript.

As the full title of the P.R.B.'s short-lived periodical, the *Germ: Thoughts towards Nature in Poetry, Literature and Art*, indicated, the group emphasised the significant interrelationship of art, poetry and nature. Despite this, and the P.R.B.'s veneration of Wordsworth as a nature-poet par excellence, only two of the plants depicted in Woolner's monument can be related to Wordsworth's poetry. The others are attributable to a botanical blunder by Woolner. Furthermore, a review of the monument by Woolner's fellow-P.R.B., William Michael Rossetti, indicates that Woolner was not alone among the P.R.B. members in his ignorance of Wordsworth's poetry or of nature. Most subsequent analyses of the work have similarly failed to recognise the monument's intrinsic deficiencies.

Wordsworth died in April 1850 and was buried according to his own wishes in a plain grave in the churchyard of St Oswald's: his austere tombstone read simply: 'William Wordsworth. 1850'. A few months later, in the early winter of 1850–51, Woolner stayed with the Tennyson family at Coniston. They were very pleased with a portrait medallion he had prepared of Alfred

Tennyson and, no doubt hoping to further Woolner's prospects, they asked him to send a cast of it to their friends, the Fletchers of Ambleside, who were also close friends and neighbours of the Wordsworths.⁴ It was greatly appreciated by the Fletchers and, subsequently, Woolner was commissioned to execute a memorial to Wordsworth, to be placed in the church at Grasmere. Those involved in commissioning and advising on the work included Mrs Eliza Fletcher of Lancrigg; her son Angus Fletcher, himself an able sculptor; Dr Davy, son-in-law of Eliza Fletcher; and Edward Quillinan, widower of the Wordsworths' daughter, Dora, who had died in 1847.

The monument was executed over a period of six months. At the beginning of February 1851 it was recorded in the *P.R.B. Journal* that:

There is some prospect of [Woolner] getting the commission for a monument to Wordsworth to be erected over his grave; Mr Fletcher, whom he met when with Tennyson at the lakes, having proposed him to a brother of Sir Humphrey Davy, who manages the affair, and some preliminary notes having been exchanged.⁵

Three weeks later, W.M. Rossetti was able to report that 'today I had a glimpse of what Woolner has done for the Wordsworth monument [...] the head is considerably advanced'.⁶

Woolner was busy at this time working on at least two other projects. In the first four days of the following week, Thomas Carlyle sat to him for a medallion portrait, and by the end of the week Woolner had decided to enter the competition for the major Wordsworth monument intended for Westminster Abbey.⁷ His complex design was described in the *P.R.B. Journal* of 9th March, only a week later, and the corresponding model was submitted, in accordance with the competition requirements, in early May.⁸ By the middle of May, after a period of illness, Woolner was again working on the Grasmere memorial.⁹ It was completed by late July, and installed in the church in August.¹⁰

Wordsworth was a highly suitable subject for a Pre-Raphaelite artist. He was included on the famous 'List of Immortals' who were to be venerated by the P.R.B. His poetry, in language that

The author is grateful for the assistance of Helen Cole, Australian Library of Art, State Library of Queensland; Jonathan Harrison, St John's College Library, Cambridge; and Revd Cameron Butland, St Oswald's Church, Grasmere, in supplying illustrative material.

¹ B. Read: *Victorian Sculpture*, New Haven and London 1982, pp.182–83; *idem*: 'Was There Pre-Raphaelite Sculpture?', in L. Parris, ed.: *Pre-Raphaelite Papers*, London 1984, pp.97–110; and B. Read and J. Barnes, eds.: *Pre-Raphaelite Sculpture: Nature and Imagination in British Sculpture 1848–1914*, London 1991, p.22.

² As well as Read 1982 and 1984, *op. cit.* (note 1), see M. Stocker: 'Thomas Woolner', *Grove Art Online*, Oxford University Press, <http://www.groveart.com>.

³ W.H. Hunt: 'Note for a P.R.B. meeting', c.January 1851, in W.E. Fredeman, ed.: *The P.R.B. Journal*, Oxford 1975, p.242.

⁴ A. Woolner: *Thomas Woolner RA: his Life in Letters*, London 1917, p.11. Amy

Woolner believed the medallion was prepared at Coniston in 1850, but according to the *P.R.B. Journal*, Tennyson sat for it in London in December 1849; Woolner was trying to complete it there in March 1850, and a bronze cast was finally made in November 1850. Woolner made another version in 1856.

⁵ Fredeman, *op. cit.* (note 3), 2nd February 1851. W.M. Rossetti was wrong in thinking that Woolner's memorial was to be erected over the poet's grave.

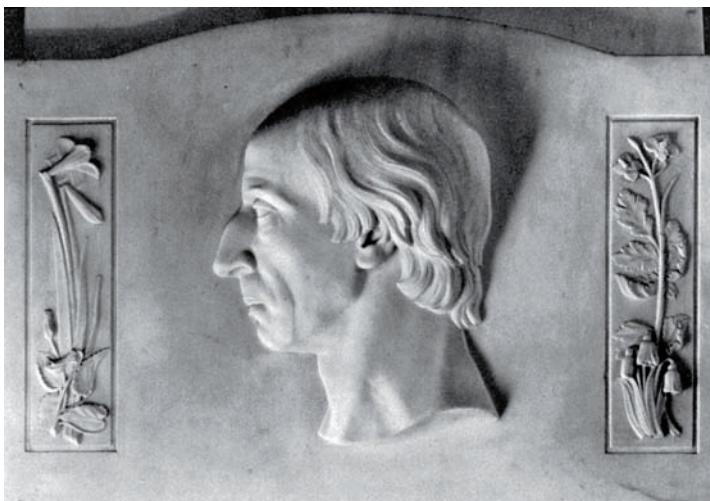
⁶ *Ibid.*, 23rd February 1851.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 2nd March 1851.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 9th March and 12th May 1851.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 16th May 1851. The probable effect of the interweaving dates of Woolner's two Wordsworth memorial projects on the final product at Grasmere is discussed below.

¹⁰ A review of the finished sculpture was published in the *Spectator* (2nd August

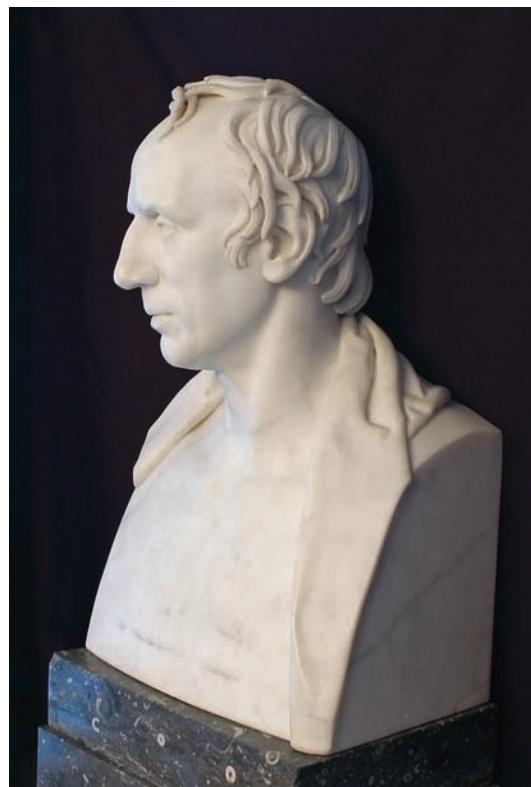


28. Detail of the Wordsworth Memorial, by Thomas Woolner. 1851. Marble 44 by 78 cm. (St Oswald's Church, Grasmere, Cumbria). The floriated panels depict daffodils and violets on the left, and celandines and snowdrops on the right.

was simple and direct, eschewing earlier poetic conventions, expressed his delight in observing even the humblest aspects of nature, simultaneously prompting the contemplation of things eternal. Although his best work had been done half a century earlier, Wordsworth could well be considered a true 'Pre-Raphaelite' poet. He was also Poet Laureate. For Woolner, an aspiring poet and a friend of eminent poets such as Tennyson (Wordsworth's successor as Poet Laureate), and Coventry Patmore, it is difficult to imagine a more appropriate subject for commemoration.

During the early spring of 1851, Woolner corresponded extensively with Dr Davy, mainly on the subject of a suitable inscription for the monument. He also consulted Tennyson who advised 'noble simplicity': 'Is Wordsworth a great poet? Well then don't let us talk of him as if he were half known'. His suggestion was: 'To the Memory of WILLIAM WORDSWORTH The Great Poet'.¹¹ However, this was thought too severe, and instead a lengthy inscription, adapted from John Keble's dedication to Wordsworth of his 1844 *Oxford Lectures on Poetry*, was employed. This fourteen-line inscription¹² was surmounted by a band of bay leaves carved in high relief, serving to remind observers of Wordsworth as Poet Laureate. While Keble's lofty sentiment was consistent with Pre-Raphaelite thinking, the portentous expression, as translated from the Latin, was not. Tennyson was right.

Woolner's portrait of Wordsworth was necessarily posthumous. In accepting the commission, the sculptor undoubtedly compromised his Pre-Raphaelite principles, for he had never



29. William Wordsworth, by Francis Chantrey. 1820. Marble, 51 cm. high. (Wordsworth Collection, Lilly Library, University of Indiana).

met Wordsworth, let alone made sketches of him. Numerous portraits of Wordsworth were, however, in existence by the time of his death. The family's favourite was a marble bust by Francis Chantrey (Fig.29), executed in 1820, when the poet was fifty years old.¹³ This source had three advantages from Woolner's perspective: it was widely held to be the best likeness of Wordsworth;¹⁴ it was fully three-dimensional, as opposed to a painting, drawing or wax relief; and it was readily accessible, as several plaster casts of it were in existence. Woolner, working in London, arranged with the assistance of Dr Davy and Mr Quillinan to borrow a cast belonging to Henry Crabb Robinson. He did so on 13th February 1851, and within three weeks had successfully completed his portrait of the poet.¹⁵

Despite its advantages, it was ironic that Woolner was forced to depend upon a bust by Chantrey, for he was later described by Woolner's close friend and Pre-Raphaelite sympathiser, F.T. Palgrave, as 'the founder of that coarse and careless style in modelling and execution'.¹⁶ In other words, Chantrey's work was the sculptural equivalent of what the P.R.B. derided as 'sloshy' painting.

Comparison of the Chantrey bust with the Grasmere relief indicates that Woolner drew on additional sources in preparing his work. The most influential of these appears to have been

¹¹ 1851); its presence in the church in August is recorded in Woolner, *op. cit.* (note 4), p.13.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp.12–13.

¹³ 'TO THE MEMORY OF/ WILLIAM WORDSWORTH/ A TRUE PHILOSOPHER AND POET/ WHO, BY THE SPECIAL GIFT AND CALLING OF/ ALMIGHTY GOD,/ WHETHER HE DISCOURSED ON MAN OR NATURE/ FAILED NOT TO LIFT UP THE HEART/ TO HOLY THINGS/ TIRED NOT OF MAINTAINING THE CAUSE/ OF THE POOR AND SIMPLE;/ AND SO, IN PERILOUS TIMES WAS RAISED UP/ TO BE A CHIEF MINISTER,/ NOT ONLY OF NOBLEST POESY/ BUT OF HIGH AND SACRED TRUTH'. The proposed inscription went on to say: 'THIS MEMORIAL/ IS PLACED HERE BY HIS FRIENDS AND NEIGHBOURS,/ IN TESTIMONY OF/ RESPECT, AFFECTION AND GRATITUDE/ ANNO MDCCCLI', thus emphasising the local and intimate nature of this memorial, in contrast to the grand public monument that was simultaneously being planned for Westminster Abbey.

¹⁴ F. Blanshard: *Portraits of Wordsworth*, London 1959, pp.62–64.

¹⁵ Anon.: obituary of Wordsworth, *Gentleman's Magazine* 33 (June 1850), pp.668–72. The Chantrey bust also served as the model for an engraving of the poet included in his *Collected Poems* of 1845, the last edition before his death.

¹⁶ E. Morley, ed.: *Henry Crabb Robinson on Books and Their Writers*, New York 1967 (1st ed. 1938), II, pp.707–08. Robinson used the term 'portrait medallion' to describe what he viewed with approbation in Woolner's studio on 7th March 1851. He associated it with the Grasmere memorial, but that was not, strictly speaking, a medallion. Woolner did produce a portrait medallion of Wordsworth at about the same time, which he exhibited in 1852 at the Royal Academy of Arts, London.

¹⁷ F.T. Palgrave: *Essays on Art*, London and Cambridge 1866, p.293, quoted in Read 1982, *op. cit.* (note 1), p.20.



30. Three borders and a sample page from the *Illuminated Calendar and Home Diary for 1845*, by Henry Noel Humphreys, after the Hours of Anne of Brittany, late fifteenth century. Chromolithographed by Owen Jones.

Margaret Gillies's left-profile view of 1839 which exhibits several characteristics absent in Chantrey's bust but which are evident in Woolner's relief. These include the markedly hooked nose and flared nostril, the hair half covering the ear, and the deeply incised lines between nose and chin. Gillies's portrait, one of five she executed of Wordsworth, was readily available, having been reproduced in R.H. Horne's *A New Spirit of the Age* (1844).¹⁷

By the end of July the sculpture was complete. W.M. Rossetti was permitted a preview in London, and was unsurprisingly generous in his *Spectator* review. Commenting on the portrait, he declared:

The likeness to the man has received decisive praise from persons whose verdict is final; the intellectual likeness to the poet will be more widely appreciated, and recognized with as cordial an admiration. The meditative lines of the face, the thoughtful forehead and eye, the compressed, sensitive mouth, are rendered with refined intelligence.¹⁸

The *Art-Journal*, whose reviewer presumably had to wait and see the tablet *in situ* at Grasmere, commented four months later, with considerably less effusion: 'The relief has been executed with great care, and the likeness is satisfactory'.¹⁹

Regardless of the quality of the portrait, the question must be asked: is it valid to consider a representation of a man never seen by the artist, and based upon decades-old portraits by other artists, as a true expression of Pre-Raphaelite principles?

Further questions arise when considering the floriated relief panels flanking the portrait. These are quite striking in appearance, with their tall, narrow dimensions bounded by a sharply incised border. The flowers, depicted in a naturalistic manner, occupy each panel without crowding it, and the fluid lines of the

¹⁷ Woolner may also have had direct contact with Margaret Gillies, who was close to the Wordsworths, and had access to her preparatory drawings through his friend E.L. Bateman (whose friendship with Gillies lasted from c.1849 until her death in 1887); for Bateman's influence on Woolner, see note 23 below.

¹⁸ [W.M. Rossetti]: 'Fine Arts: Monument to Wordsworth', *Spectator* 24 (2nd August 1851), p.740. This is assumed to have been written by W.M. Rossetti as he had become the *Spectator*'s art critic in November 1850.

¹⁹ Anon.: 'Tablet to the Memory of Wordsworth in Grasmere Church', *Art-Journal* (1st December 1851), p.327.

²⁰ H.N. Humphreys and O. Jones: *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages*, London 1849, p.110.

taller flowers draw the eye through the composition. Improbable as it may seem, there can be little doubt that these sculpted panels were inspired by a late medieval manuscript, Jean Bourdichon's Hours of Anne of Brittany, which has been variously dated to the last decade of the fifteenth century or the first decade of the sixteenth. Its illuminated borders depict single stems of flowering plants reposing on golden panels. The plants are represented with remarkable accuracy, and the shadows cast by the stems give the illustrations an extraordinary three-dimensional quality, making them highly suitable inspiration for a Pre-Raphaelite depiction of nature, executed in relief sculpture. The unusual proportions of the panels, and the fine lines enclosing them, closely resemble Woolner's Wordsworth panels.

The manuscript in question was very highly regarded by nineteenth-century connoisseurs:

The great simplicity of its ornaments place it quite apart from the common illumination of the period; it is, as it were, the last word of the higher Gothic school of illumination, which had been long tending more and more towards the absolutely natural in the form and distribution of its main features [...] in this style, the supreme effort of the art of illumination, nature, as far as lay within the capacity of the artist, has been strictly followed, and yet nothing of the highly decorative character lost.²⁰

We have to speculate on how Woolner came to know of these illuminated borders. The original manuscript was held by the Bibliothèque Royale in Paris but there is no evidence that Woolner ever viewed it there. However, extracts from it had furnished the illustrations for Henry Noel Humphreys's *Illuminated Calendar and Home Diary for 1845* (1844). This was not a facsimile *per se*, as Humphreys adapted the original calendar pages to modern usage, and reproduced only a small sample of the original illustrations (Fig.30). Nevertheless, the floriated borders, a selection of twenty-four from the three hundred originals, closely resembled their medieval manuscript source. The 'sculptural' liveliness visible in the originals was well conveyed by the rich chromolithographic reproduction, for which Owen Jones was responsible. The panels so closely resembled those of Woolner's Wordsworth memorial that they can be substituted without modification (Fig.31).

A description of the original manuscript, including the floriated borders, was contained in Humphreys's and Owen Jones's *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages* (1844–49), but without closely corresponding illustrations. Humphreys's text also drew attention to a very similar illuminated manuscript, held in a private collection in England, to which he had access.²¹ And, like those associated with him in the production of these chromolithographed works, Humphreys evidently had an intimate knowledge of both these manuscripts and had copied numerous illustrations from them. Humphreys not only admired the Hours

²¹ Humphreys, in *ibid.*, p.110. The MS, which then belonged to R.S. Holford, is now in the Morgan Library, New York.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ For Bateman, see A.I. Neale: 'Illuminating Nature: The Art and Design of E.L. Bateman (1816–97)', (unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of Melbourne, 2001).

²⁴ Both books were released in December of the year preceding the colophon date. A third book, *Winged Thoughts*, focusing on birds, was published in 1850–51, utilising letterpress rather than illuminated script.

²⁵ References to this are found in M. Howitt, ed.: *Mary Howitt: An autobiography*, London 1889, as well as in the *P.R.B. Journal*.

²⁶ A memorable phrase employed by Annie Howitt, Bateman's fiancée and a

as an exceptional piece of medieval illumination, but also drew his readers' attention to its lost potential in the history of design:

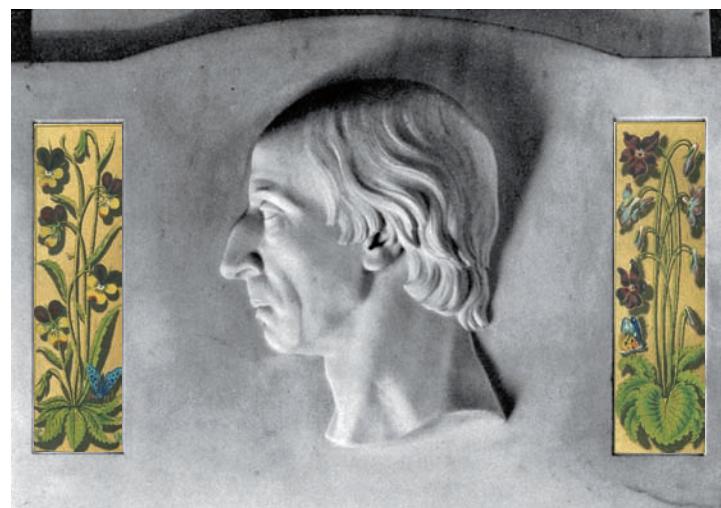
It is a style that, having abandoned the quaintness and intricacy of the previous Gothic feeling, but without adopting any of the foreign features of the Italian arabesque, might have led eventually to an original and beautiful school of decorative art, of which we shall never now be able to form any conception; but which was crushed by the almost immediate introduction of the Italian style of the revival. Many epochs in the history of an art present a similarly tantalising view.²²

This notable aside reflects Humphreys's close association with the design reformer Owen Jones, and indicates the strong appeal these ideas and models would have to a Pre-Raphaelite designer, especially one with a strong interest in both nature and medievalism. The one person who was outstandingly well equipped to influence Woolner in his design of the Grasmere panels was his friend the 'Illuminator', Edward La Trobe Bateman (1816–97).²³

Bateman was a designer and chromolithographer who worked with Jones, for whom he had produced two books: *Flowers and Their Kindred Thoughts* (1848) and *Fruits from the Garden and Field* (1850). Each illustrated their subjects in a brilliantly coloured, highly naturalistic and yet decorative manner, while reproducing the poetry of Mary Ann Bacon in the style of an illuminated medieval manuscript.²⁴ In addition to his work for Jones (of which these two books are only a sample), Bateman was well known for his personal collection of copies from medieval manuscripts,²⁵ and for his 'exquisite love of flowers and weeds'.²⁶ Bateman may himself have been involved in the production of the floriated borders for the *Illuminated Calendar . . . for 1845*. In any case, no one was better situated to bring them to Woolner's attention.

Initially the Pre-Raphaelites had become acquainted with Bateman through Millais at about the time of the formation of the P.R.B. in the autumn of 1848.²⁷ The earliest surviving accounts of the P.R.B. indicate that by May 1849 Woolner, as well as Millais and D.G. Rossetti, was on comfortable visiting terms with Bateman: 'the visit, including Devonshire cream, afforded unqualified satisfaction'.²⁸ In October 1849 W.M. Rossetti reported that Woolner 'took me to see Mr Bateman, the Illuminator [. . .] I saw the designs of ivy borders etc. he has made for Woolner's poem of "Friendship", and looked over the illuminated letters etc. he has copied from old manuscripts'.²⁹ Such collaboration obviously continued for, a year later, the *P.R.B. Journal* records that Woolner was consulting with Bateman about his latest design for the 'Symbol of the Soul's Strength'.³⁰ Shortly after this Woolner stayed with the Tennysons in the Lake District, commencing the train of events that led to the Wordsworth memorial commission.

Julian Treuherz and Howard Leathlean³¹ have examined in some detail the influence of medieval manuscripts on the



31. Modified detail of the Wordsworth Memorial, by Thomas Woolner, with floriated panels from the *Illuminated Calendar and Home Diary of 1845* superimposed.

Pre-Raphaelites, with Leathlean exploring the particular dependence of Charles Allston Collins upon Humphreys's work.³² However, it has not previously been recognised that Woolner was among those Pre-Raphaelites influenced by medieval manuscript illumination. It is highly improbable that Collins introduced either Humphreys, or his works, to Woolner, for the latter had no time for Collins, having 'fought the point savagely' when Millais proposed Collins for membership of the P.R.B. in November 1850.³³ For the same reason, it seems unlikely that Millais, who was acquainted with Humphreys, would have introduced Woolner to him.³⁴ Considering that Humphreys is never mentioned in the *P.R.B. Journal*, while there are repeated references to Bateman and to his collection of medieval manuscript copies, there seems little doubt that Bateman can be held responsible for introducing Woolner to the medieval manuscripts which inspired him in the design of the Grasmere memorial.

In devising a floral tribute to Wordsworth, it might be expected that an artist would utilise the flowers that featured most strongly in his poetry: Wordsworth had singled out daffodils, daisies, celandines, snowdrops and 'love-lies-bleeding' for attention.³⁵ The design Woolner adopted for his flanking panels suggested the use of a taller and a shorter plant together in each one. Daffodils (*Narcissus spp.*) and 'love-lies-bleeding' (*Amaranthus caudatus*) are relatively tall; daisies (*Bellis perennis*) and snowdrops (*Galanthus nivalis*) relatively short: it was the celandine that created a problem.

The use of common names in place of botanical ones always carries the risk of confusion. There are two plants named 'celandine': the 'greater' celandine (*Chelidonium majus*, which grows up to c.90 cm.) and the 'lesser' or 'smaller' celandine

Pre-Raphaelite artist, then studying in Germany; see A.M. Howitt: *An Art Student in Munich*, London 1853, I, p.233.

²⁷ Bateman and Millais had worked together in Leeds in the summer of 1848.

²⁸ Fredeman, *op. cit.* (note 3), 21st May 1849.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 10th October 1849.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 27th October 1850.

³¹ J. Treuherz: 'The Pre-Raphaelites and Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts', in Paris, *op. cit.* (note 1), pp.153–69; and H. Leathlean: 'Henry Noel Humphreys and Some Pre-Raphaelite Imagery', *Journal of Pre-Raphaelite Studies* 7/2 (May 1987), pp.41–54.

³² Collins made use of medieval manuscript models, and pseudo-medieval copies, evidently inspired by the work of Humphreys, in *Berengaria's alarm* (1850), *Convent*

thoughts (1851) and *St Elizabeth of Hungary* (1852).

³³ Fredeman, *op. cit.* (note 3), 5th November 1850.

³⁴ Millais employed Humphreys's son as the model for the child Jesus in *Christ in the house of his parents* (1850).

³⁵ Daffodils feature in only one poem, but they were always the flower most associated with the poet; daisies were the subject of four poems; celandines of three; snowdrops and 'love-lies-bleeding' were each the subject of two poems. The omission of 'love-lies-bleeding' from the memorial may have been due to the late composition (1847) of the related poems. For this and all other references to Wordsworth's poetry, see *The Complete Poetical Works of William Wordsworth*, London 1928 (1st ed. 1888).



32. Lesser celandine (*Ranunculus ficaria*). From J.G. Sturm: *Deutschlands Flora in Abbildungen*, Stuttgart 1796, pl.59.



33. Greater celandine (*Chelidonium majus*). From O.W. Thomé: *Flora von Deutschland, Österreich und der Schweiz*, Gera 1885, pl.262.

(*Ranunculus ficaria*, which grows up to c.30 cm.; Fig.32).³⁶ The latter was Wordsworth's personal favourite and the specific subject of three of his poems, which not only by name, but also by description, refer unmistakably to the 'smaller celandine'.³⁷ Woolner apparently failed to recognise that the two plants sharing the name 'celandine' are quite different in size and habit, foliage and flower, and selected the 'greater celandine' (Fig.33) as one of his models.

In W.M. Rossetti's *Spectator* review published in the first week of August 1851, the flowers were identified as 'the crocus and celandine, and the snowdrop and violet, treated with a rare union of natural beauty and sculpturesque method'. While a city-dwelling public servant and part-time art critic might perhaps be forgiven for not knowing the difference between a crocus and a daffodil, it was a remarkable blunder for a Pre-Raphaelite who supposedly revered nature and was also a close friend of the sculptor. At least the *Art-Journal* critic, in an otherwise chilly review four months later, managed to correctly identify the daffodil. However, neither critic raised the most problematic issue concerning the flowers: Woolner had depicted the wrong celandine.

Woolner's mistaken choice of plants was perilously close to the level of the schoolboy howler. Despite being himself an

aspiring poet who supposedly revered Wordsworth's verse and his attitude to nature, Woolner appears either not to have read the poems in question, or to have been so botanically ignorant and unobservant that he failed to recognise that the plant he depicted did not accord with Wordsworth's descriptions.

W.M. Rossetti's identification of a daffodil as a crocus is similarly worrying. Not only does the plant not look like a crocus, but the crocus appears rarely in Wordsworth's poetry. However, the sculpted flowers do closely resemble daffodils seen from the back, in flower and in bud. Daffodils are one of Wordsworth's most famous subjects, known to many through his celebrated, untitled poem of 1804 beginning 'I wandered lonely as a cloud', recording the poet's lasting joy inspired by a view of massed daffodils.

There is no controversy attached to the small plant depicted on the lower right: it is a snowdrop, that 'venturous harbinger of Spring' feted by Wordsworth in 1819. The corresponding plant on the lower left appears to be a member of the violet family (*Viola spp.*). However, given that the previous plants had all (at least in theory, allowing for Woolner's celandine error) appeared quite prominently in Wordsworth's poetry, the question arises: why violets? Other flowering plants, daisies especially, have several poems devoted to them by Wordsworth,

³⁶ Plants have been identified by reference to M. Blamey and C. Grey-Wilson: *The Illustrated Flora of Britain and Northern Europe*, London 1989.

³⁷ Wordsworth wrote two poems to the lesser celandine at Grasmere in 1802. One begins: 'Pansies, lilies, kingcups, daisies,/ Let them live upon their praises', and the first stanza concludes significantly: 'There's a flower that shall be mine,/ 'Tis the little Celandine'. The other begins: 'Pleasures newly found are sweet/ When they lie about our feet'. The third poem concerning the small Celandine was written in 1804,

with the opening lines: 'There is a Flower, the lesser Celandine,/ That shrinks, like many more, from cold and rain'.

³⁸ L.L.: 'The Two Pre-Raphaelitisms (concluded)', *Crayon* 4 (December 1857), p.362; see T. Tobin: *PR_Critic*, http://www.engl.duq.edu/servus/PR_Critic/CRAdec57.html.

³⁹ A. Kader: 'Model for the Wordsworth Memorial', in Read and Barnes, *op. cit.* (note 1), p.144, citing the *Art-Journal* (1st August 1851), p.222.

but violets appear merely in passing. No studies for the design are known, and we cannot know the order in which Woolner worked on his carving, but a possible explanation for the inclusion of the violet is that it was an attempt by Woolner to compensate for his wrong choice of celandine, an error almost certainly known to him before the completion of the memorial. Given the selection of the other plants, and the balance of the design, it would not be surprising to find that the lower-left panel was originally to be occupied by daisies or by another low-growing plant that had featured in Wordsworth's verse. Violets, however, have plant characteristics and associations quite similar to those identified by Wordsworth for his 'Little, humble Celandine', and are regarded in Christian iconography as a symbol of humility. While Woolner never openly admitted to his celandine mistake, there can be little doubt that he knew of it, as his competition entry for the Westminster monument, submitted in early May 1851, depicted Wordsworth contemplating a single flower of the *lesser* celandine.³⁸ It appears that Woolner was made aware of his error after executing the wrong celandine but before the left-hand panel for Grasmere was complete. Rather than draw attention to his gaffe by adding the correct celandine to the incorrect one already sculpted, he selected a plant that had similar characteristics – the violet – and might thereby serve as something of an apology to Wordsworth's memory.

However, this belated apology was unfortunately not adequate to win Woolner the Westminster competition. While his central figure of the seated poet was similar to Frederick Thrupp's winning entry, the elaborate symbolism of Woolner's proposed flanking figures and sculpted pedestal did not appeal to the majority of the judges. This was due, at least in part, to the potential expense,³⁹ but it is possible that the judges had heard of Woolner's blunder with the Grasmere monument, and that this cast doubt on the sculptor's suitability. It has also been suggested that Thrupp won the commission through some skulduggery.⁴⁰ However, the judges' decision may have been largely an aesthetic one: as Wordsworth's son later described Woolner's Westminster scheme, while the figure of the poet himself was admirable, everything else appeared 'distasteful and discordant' in relation to it.⁴¹ Whatever the reason, Woolner's failure to win the Westminster competition had a significant impact on his career, leading him to spend the years 1852 to 1854 in Australia.

Thirty years later, in preparing his authoritative *Life of William Wordsworth*, William Knight wrote to Woolner enquiring into the circumstances of the Grasmere memorial commission. The initial tone of Woolner's reply of January 1882 suggests that the sculptor wished to distance himself from the project, something made potentially easier by the fact that everyone else involved was 'now dead, and the affair seems to me more like a circumstance I had read of, than anything that I was ever personally connected with'. Woolner was evidently very sensitive to criticism of the memorial at this time, for he then attempted

to defend himself against a recently published account of his celandine error:

One of the plants in the tablet is the lesser celandine, and I found myself scolded in the Gardener's Chronicle about a year ago for mistaking it for the greater celandine, an entirely gratuitous assumption on the writer's part, as I had no intention of representing the greater, that being a flower wholly unsuited to my purpose.⁴²

This is classic 'Woolnerian' bluff and bluster: he may not have intended to represent the greater celandine, but he had certainly done so! Knight made no overt response to Woolner's defence, but provided a quietly ironic comment by illustrating the lesser celandine on his title page.

Modern writers on the Grasmere memorial have failed to recognise its botanical confusion. Frances Blanshard referred to the *Art-Journal* review, and consequently correctly identified the daffodil, but made no mention of Woolner's incorrect celandine.⁴³ Benedict Read, Alexander Kader and Elizabeth Prettejohn follow the *Spectator*'s description uncritically, describing the daffodils as crocuses.⁴⁴ Timothy Stevens unsuccessfully attempts to deal with the confusion by combining the *Spectator* and *Art-Journal* descriptions and referring to five flowers ('minutely observed daffodils, crocuses, celandines, snow-drops and violets')⁴⁵ where there are clearly only four plants. None of these authors observed that crocuses and violets had almost no place in Wordsworth's poetry, or recognised that Woolner's floral tribute to the great poet, supposedly depicting Wordsworth's own favourite flower, the lesser celandine, was in fact a spectacular botanical blunder.

The identification of Woolner's Grasmere memorial as a significant example of Pre-Raphaelite sculpture is questionable. Considering the P.R.B.'s emphasis on working from living models for even the most incidental character in a narrative painting, then Woolner's posthumous portrayal of Wordsworth, necessarily taken from secondary sources, can hardly be said to accord with Pre-Raphaelite principles of 'Truth-to-Nature'. The argument put forward in favour of recognising this work as an example of truly Pre-Raphaelite sculpture is heavily dependent upon one highly appreciative contemporary review of the work appearing in the *Spectator*. When it is realised that the sculptor's close friend and fellow P.R.B. wrote this review, and that neither sculptor nor critic had ever seen the subject of the 'portrait', or could tell one common plant from another, then the whole house of cards begins to collapse.

Nevertheless, Woolner's Wordsworth memorial at Grasmere is significant in the history of Pre-Raphaelitism, demonstrating that the influence of medieval manuscripts on Pre-Raphaelite art went beyond costume details, pseudo-medieval missals and even the intense use of glowing colour: Woolner's Wordsworth memorial has none of these things, and yet its debt to medieval manuscripts is clear.

⁴⁰ Read 1982, *op. cit.* (note 1), pp. 103–04.

⁴¹ Gordon Wordsworth purchased the model from Amy Woolner, presumably after her father's death. He discarded everything except the central figure, which is now held by the Wordsworth Trust at Grasmere; see Blanshard, *op. cit.* (note 13), pp. 105–06.

⁴² Woolner to Knight, 26th January 1882, in W. Knight: *Life of William Wordsworth*, Edinburgh 1889, II, Appendix V, 'On the Portraits of Wordsworth', entry 32.

⁴³ Blanshard, *op. cit.* (note 13), pp. 103–04.

⁴⁴ Read 1982 and 1984, *op. cit.* (note 1); A. Kader: 'William Wordsworth, 1851', in Read and Barnes, *op. cit.* (note 1), pp. 143–44; and E. Prettejohn: *The Pre-Raphaelites*, London 2000, p. 63.

⁴⁵ T. Stevens: 'Woolner, Thomas (1825–92)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford 2004.

Duveen's French frames for British pictures

by NICHOLAS PENNY and KAREN SERRES

IN THE ART galleries of North America there are numerous very finely carved frames that are skilful imitations of those made in eighteenth-century France. Outstanding among these, in both design and craftsmanship, are three types that are generally found on portraits by Reynolds, Gainsborough, Romney, Raeburn, Lawrence and Hoppner, and occasionally on paintings by other British artists, notably Turner's landscapes.¹

The largest of these three types (Figs. 34 and 35) has scrolled foliate centres and corners. The corners include a nested cabochon. There is a sanded flat, a shallow hollow, tooled in the gesso with fluting and hatching and punctuated with bossed rosettes, and a gadrooned rail.² A more ornate type of frame is found on medium-sized paintings (Figs. 36 and 37). In these the scrolling foliate ornament at the corners and centres spreads outwards; some of the carving is pierced and the gadrooned rail is swept so that the rear portions of the frame are visible through and behind the front; there is no flat; and beside the long scrolls which link centres and corners there are sharply cut reeds. We will call this the 'seven cabochon frame', on account of a distinctive feature of its corner ornaments.³ A third type, still more ornate, is found only on small paintings (Figs. 38 and 39). In these the foliate scrolls of the centres and corners are deeply undercut, the rail, which is reeded, curves inwards to accommodate cabochon sub-centres, and the hollow, incised with a diaper design, is also punctuated with smaller cabochon subcentres. This we shall call the 'heart corner frame', after the striking heart-shaped cabochon in the corner ornament.⁴

In every case that is known to us such frames are found on paintings exported to America by the dealer Joseph Duveen. They were his preferred standard patterns for the British paintings he sold and can be identified by trade names used in his firm's records. We have not found an exact prototype for any of the three types and their design may be only loosely based on

original frames, although their details are all exactly imitated. The full-length frames are Régence in style, the 'seven cabochon frame' is early Louis XV and Rococo, while the 'heart corner frame' represents an intermediate style: only part of the rail is curved, and the hollow is still distinguished from the sanded flat, although ornament flows easily from one to the other.

The appeal of these frames for Duveen is easily explained. It was his ambition, as a dealer in the decorative arts as well as painting, to supply his clients with entire interiors, predominantly French in style. The large frames would have accorded well with the divisions of Régence panelling, while the intricacy of the smaller frames would have matched the ormolu mounts on the porcelain and commodes placed below them. Duveen knew that originally British portraits would have been displayed in different styles of frame. Indeed, in most cases he must have discarded old British frames in favour of his French patterns, only occasionally retaining a Carlo Maratta frame.⁵

Although historically inappropriate for the portraits in question, early eighteenth-century French frames were esteemed in Britain in the second half of that century and in the early nineteenth⁶ and such frames were often preserved on old-master paintings that arrived in Britain (as was also the case in the Imperial Russian collection, where such frames alone were retained, all others being reframed in the Empire style). However, our purpose is not to defend Duveen's framing policy but to explain it. Perhaps the most curious aspect is the relative rarity of finding these new French frames on French portraits.⁷ For these, Duveen preferred either to adapt a genuine period frame or to preserve the original one, although regilding it and sometimes recutting the ornament.⁸

If we turn to Duveen's records to discover when these three standard frame types were first employed, we find that the first to be mentioned is the 'seven cabochon frame'. Within the firm

This article owes much to the generosity of the staff of the Watson Library at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (especially Lisa Harms), and of the Special Collections at the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. It also benefited from the kindness of Mesdames Virginie Fouquin and Annick Lebrun of Cadres Lebrun, Paris, who shared their expertise and memories. This topic was first explored in a paper given by Nicholas Penny in 2002 at the conference 'Global Embrace: Celebrating 500 years of European Frames', organised by Lisa Koenigsberg, to whom we are also grateful.

¹ Turner's *Rockets and Blue Lights* (Francine and Sterling Clark Art Institute, Williamstown) and his *Grand Canal: Scene – A Street in Venice* (Huntington Library and Art Collections, San Marino; hereafter cited as Huntington) are both in seven cabochon frames as defined here.

² Notable examples of the full-length frames of this pattern include the following portraits at the Huntington: Gainsborough's *Karl Friedrich Abel; Juliana, Baroness Petre; Penelope, Viscountess Ligonier*; and *Edward, Viscount Ligonier*; Reynolds's *Jane Fleming, later Countess of Harrington; Sarah Siddons as the Tragic Muse; Georgiana Cavendish, Duchess of Devonshire*; and *Diana, Viscountess Crosbie*; and Romney's *Mary, Lady Beauchamp-Proctor* and *Penelope Lee Acton* (Fig. 35). They are also present in other American collections including the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Romney's *Anne, Lady de la Pole*), and the National Gallery of Art, Washington (Van Dyck's *Marchesa Balbi*; Fig. 34).

³ Notable examples of the seven cabochon pattern frames include Gainsborough's *Master John Heathcote* (National Gallery of Art, Washington; Fig. 36), *The artist's daughters* (Worcester Art Museum) and *The cottage door* (Huntington); Hoppner's *The Bowden children* (Detroit Institute of Arts); Lawrence's *Sarah Goodin Barrett Moulton ('Pinkie')* and *Emily Anderson ('Little Red Riding Hood')*; Fig. 37 (Huntington); Reynolds's *Lord Henry Spencer and Lady Charlotte Spencer ('The young fortune-teller')*, *Frances Molesworth, later Marchioness Camden and Lavinia, Countess Spencer and John Charles Spencer, Viscount Althorp, later Earl Spencer* (Huntington); and Romney's *The three children of Captain Little* (Detroit Institute of Arts).

⁴ Notable examples of the heart-corner pattern frames include Gainsborough's *Catherine Tatton*; Hoppner's *Isabella Seymour Conway, Viscountess Beauchamp, later Marchioness of Hertford* (Huntington; Fig. 39); Lawrence's portraits of *Frederick H. Hemming* and *Mary Anne Bloxam (later Mrs Frederick H. Hemming)* (Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth; Fig. 38); Raeburn's *William Blair* (Huntington); Reynolds's *Mrs Richard Paul Jodrell* (Detroit Institute of Arts) and *Miss Theresa Parker* (Huntington); Romney's *Catherine Burton and Catherine Adye, later Willett* (Huntington), *Lady Hamilton as Medea* (Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena) and *Mrs Davies Davenport* (National Gallery of Art, Washington).

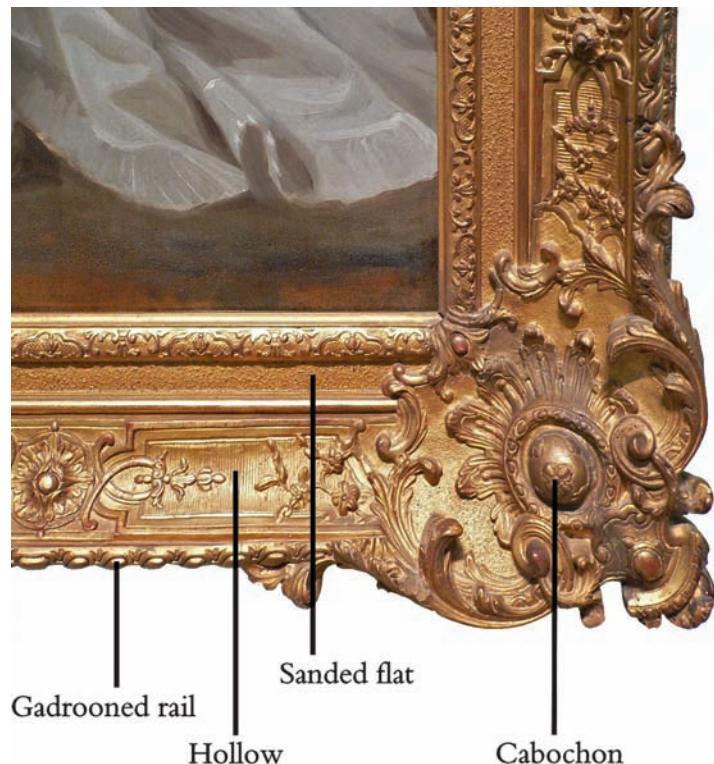
⁵ See note 36 below.

⁶ Zoffany's portrait of *Sir Lawrence Dundas and his grandson* (collection of the



34. Duveen standard frame (1st type) on *Marchesa Balbi*, by Anthony van Dyck. c.1623. Canvas, 196.5 by 133.8 cm. (National Gallery of Art, Washington).

this was known as the 'Pinkie pattern', a reference to Lawrence's portrait of Sarah Goodin Barrett Moulton, commonly known as *Pinkie* (Huntington Library and Art Collections, San Marino), which Duveen sold in 1910 to the British banker Herbert Stern, Lord Michelham.⁹ According to Edward Fowles, when, a decade later, Duveen was anticipating the purchase of Gainsborough's *Jonathan Buttall* (*The blue boy*) from



35. Detail of Duveen standard frame (1st type) on *Penelope Lee Acton*, by George Romney. 1791. Canvas, 238.13 by 147.96 cm. (Huntington Library and Art Collections, San Marino).

the Duke of Westminster, he ordered Fowles 'to have a fine frame ready for it of the same kind as the one with which we had embellished Lawrence's *Pinkie*'.¹⁰ This strongly suggests that the frame was first employed by the firm in 1910. By the following year, the 'Pinkie pattern' had been re-used for Reynolds's *Mrs Sarah Otway and her daughter Jane* (private collection),¹¹ and there are many references to this type during the 1920s and 1930s and also later.¹²

The earliest known references to the full-length frames and to the 'heart corner frame' both occur in 1924: the former was known as the 'English model' frame, presumably meaning the

Marquess of Zetland) suggests that the French frames on Dutch paintings acquired in Paris were retained when they entered British collections. Although many of Gainsborough's paintings were originally given swept and pierced frames that were very simple and light when compared to French examples, the way that the landscape is framed in Gainsborough's portrait of *Mary, Duchess of Montagu* (collection of the Duke of Buccleugh, Bowhill) suggests that he was not averse to the broader and more complex patterns that had been popular in France; see J. Simon: 'Thomas Gainsborough and Picture Framing', National Portrait Gallery website, <http://www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes/the-art-of-the-picture-frame/artist-gainsborough.php>.

⁷ A few French paintings are in Duveen frames: Jean-François de Troy's *Diana and her nymphs bathing* (J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles) is in a heart corner frame and Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun's *Countess Kinsky* (Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena) is in a seven cabochon frame.

⁸ New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Duveen Brothers Records (cited hereafter as DBR), box 321 [reel 176], cable from the New York office to the Paris office, 11th December 1936: following the decision to replace the original Louis XV frame on François-Hubert Drouais's *Group portrait* (National Gallery of Art, Washington) with a 'more delicate' period Regency frame, Duveen instructed: 'for safety, regild frame and recut carving'.

⁹ Jacob Simon first pointed out the significance of this episode in J. Simon: *The Art of the Picture Frame. Artists, Patrons and the Framing of Portraits in Britain*, London 1996, p.24. On Duveen's relationship to the Michelhams, see N. Penny and K. Serres: 'Duveen and the Decorators', THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE 149 (2007), pp.400–06, esp. pp.405–06. On the circumstances of the sale to the Huntingtons and the painting itself, see DBR, box 258 [reel 113]; and R. Asleson and S. Bennett: *British Paintings at the Huntington*, San Marino and New Haven 2001, pp.242–49.

¹⁰ E. Fowles: *Memories of Duveen Brothers*, London 1976, p.145. The painting is now shown in a Carlo Maratta frame. Lawrence's *Pinkie* is actually a full eight inches taller than the standard size for this frame.

¹¹ DBR, box 281 [reel 136], invoice from the London office to the New York office, 2nd December 1911: '1 carved and gilt wood frame "Pinkie pattern" for the Sir Joshua Reynolds picture "Mrs Otway and Child" £137.12.0'.

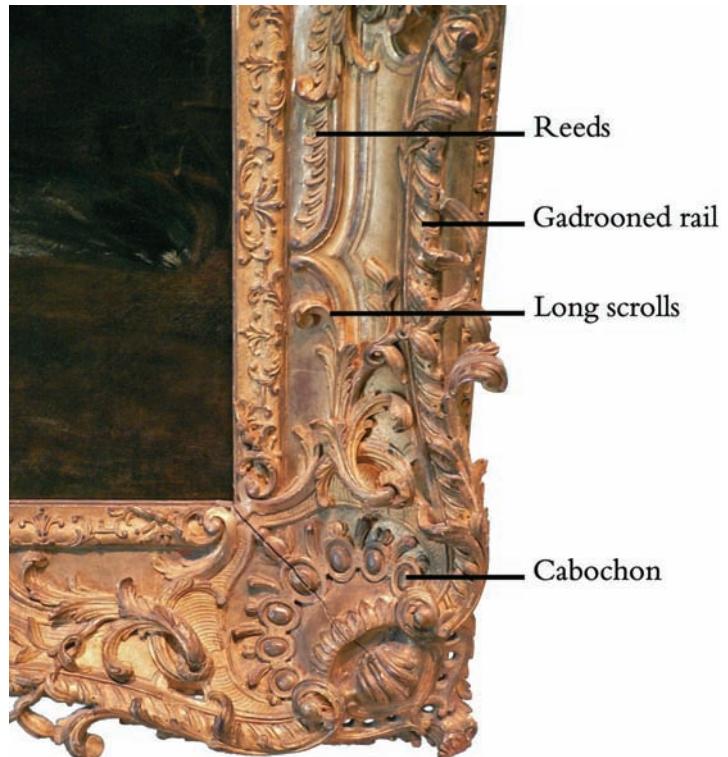
¹² References to the Pinkie model occur as late as 1950: DBR, box 242 [reel 97], inventory of 'Frames in London belonging to Duveen Brothers, Ltd.', 17th January 1950: 'Almost full-length carved and gilt Regence Frame (Pinkie model) purchased from Jack Michelham – £50' and '50" by 40. Carved and gilt wood Pinkie frame – £120'. These frames have the highest estimate of the inventory.



36. Duveen standard frame (2nd type; 'seven cabochon frame') on *Master John Heathcote*, by Thomas Gainsborough. 1771–72. Canvas, 127 by 101.2 cm. (National Gallery of Art, Washington).

standard pattern for large English portraits, and the latter as the 'Régence pattern',¹³ but since these designations are used without explanation it can be assumed that they had been familiar for some time, perhaps as early as 1910. Numerous references to both are found in the later 1920s and throughout the following decades.¹⁴

One precondition for Duveen's framing policy was the standard sizes of canvas employed in Britain in the eighteenth century. The full-length frames were generally made to fit a painting measuring 95 by 59 inches; the 'seven cabochon frame' was used for those measuring 50 by 40; and the 'heart corner frame' for those measuring 30 by 25. The London office kept examples of the frame types and would sometimes try them on paintings before deciding on a purchase,¹⁵ as when, uncertain about the



37. Detail of Duveen standard frame (2nd type) on *Emily Anderson ('Little Red Riding Hood')*, by Thomas Lawrence. c.1821. Canvas, 161.93 by 114.3 cm. (Huntington Library and Art Collections, San Marino).

desirability of a pretty portrait by Hoppner in April 1924, Duveen instructed colleagues to travel to Liverpool with a Pinkie frame so that they could see how much better the painting would look in such a frame.¹⁶ Once a decision had been made, the frame would be supplied by one of the Parisian frame-makers under the direction of the Paris office. Although Duveen was occasionally prepared to cut a painting down to make it a more convenient size for a scheme of interior decoration and for one of his standard frames,¹⁷ it was more often the case that the frame was adjusted for minor variations in the size of painting, and this would certainly have been one reason why the framers kept carved examples without gilding.¹⁸

The other precondition for this framing policy was the availability of many highly skilled carvers and gilders in Paris who

¹³ References to the 'English model' and 'Régence patterns' appear in the correspondence concerning the framing of Romney's portrait of *Mary, Lady Beauchamp-Proctor*; DBR, box 284 [reel 139], cable from the London office to the Paris office, 24th March 1924.

¹⁴ There are also references in 1945 to Pinkie and Régence frames at Bourdier's; DBR, box 242 [reel 97], letter from Edward Fowles in the New York office to Miss Jeande in the Paris office: 'Regarding the frames at Bourdier's, please do not get them back yet for a while. Any of those frames except the Italian models can be sold. I refer particularly to the Pinkie and Regence Frames. We always had clients for them'.

¹⁵ DBR, box 289 [reel 144], cable from the London office to the Paris office, 8th August 1924. The cable mentions that an example of a 30 by 25 in. frame was kept in London – 'we find it very useful for trying [a]round pictures which are offered to us here [...] With regard to larger frames, we have a coarse one of the Pinkie model made by Joubert, which we use for trying with large pictures offered'.

¹⁶ DBR, box 254 [reel 109], cable from the New York office to the London office, 26th April 1924: 'should like Ernest [and Walter] Dowdeswell go Liverpool with

pinkie frame, put picture therein and inspect in side light'. According to a later cable from the London office to the New York office dated 16th May 1924, the outcome was not satisfactory: 'Mr Ernest and I went to Liverpool yesterday, having arranged with the Curator that we should be able to see the picture in a private room with side light. We took with us an elaborate Regence frame of the Pinkie character. We tried the picture in this frame, which is too fussy, and does not improve the picture'.

¹⁷ DBR, box 254 [reel 109], cable from the London office to the Paris office, 19th July 1928: 'this picture which was almost a square shape [Hoppner's *Elizabeth, Countess of Mexborough*], Sir Joseph is having turned in to kitkat size, and he would like you to have a Regence frame put in hand at once for it'. In the end it was decided that the painting should not be modified; DBR, box 254 [reel 109], cable from the London office to the Paris office, 3rd September 1928: '[the frame-maker] Joubert says [he] can alter thirty twentyfive Regence frame to fit picture present size thirtysix inches square by first October'; and cable from Joseph Duveen to the Paris office, 5th September 1928: 'the only reason why I thought at first of altering it was because I thought perhaps it might be an awkward size to place in a house'.

¹⁸ Cadres Lebrun still possesses two ungilded examples in their basement. For



38. Duveen standard frame (3rd type; 'heart corner frame') on *Mary Anne Bloxam (later Mrs Frederick H. Hemming)*, by Thomas Lawrence. c.1824–25. Canvas, 76.2 by 62.2 cm. (Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth).

were able to work in this style and to the required standard. Characteristically, Duveen avoided dependence on any one supplier, and using more than one source was also prudent in view of the extent of the firm's demand. The names of Bourdier, Lebrun and Boullanger appear frequently in the Paris stock book.¹⁹ The firm of 'Cadres Lebrun' (founded in 1847), then located in rue Saint-Lazare, is known to have kept ready '*modèles Duveen*' both with and without gilding. They had a '*contrat d'exclusivité*' that prevented their reproducing these types for another client and it is likely that Duveen imposed the same arrangement upon other frame-makers.²⁰ On one occasion at least, the London frame-maker (of French origin) Emile Remy was used for the carving and, exceptionally, the gilding of the frame.²¹

adjustments made to the frames, see, for example, DBR, box 285 [reel 140], cable from the Paris office to the London office, 26th February 1925: 'we are having one of the Regence frames enlarged to the measurements you have given for this picture [Romney's *Catherine Burton*]. It will be ready in a fortnight's time. The Pinkie frames are Louis XV and much too large to cut down to the size'. These alterations were occasionally made in plaster; DBR, box 285 [reel 140], cable from the New York office to the London office, 26th February 1925: 'to save time, [we] suggest pinkie frame might be enlarged in plaster'.

¹⁹ These frame-makers also worked for French museums, repairing and adapting period frames for the Louvre, but also selling frames and making modern copies after those in its collection; Paris, Archives des Musées Nationaux, Archives du Louvre, series T6, P22 and PC.

²⁰ Information given to Karen Serres by Virginie Fouquin and her mother, Annick Lebrun, at Cadres Lebrun, 155 Faubourg Saint-Honoré, Paris, on 31st March 2006. The latter started working for the firm in 1945 alongside her father, Jacques Lebrun. She observed that the firm's remaining fifteen Duveen frames



39. Detail of Duveen standard frame (3rd type) on *Isabella Seymour Conway, Viscountess Beauchamp, later Marchioness of Hertford*, by John Hoppner. c.1789. Canvas, 76.2 by 63.8 cm. (Huntington Library and Art Collections, San Marino).

All these frames, the smaller two types especially, announce themselves immediately to anyone with any familiarity with woodcarving to be virtuoso performances, the product of many weeks' work.²² Given the fact that Duveen, like all successful dealers, was always in a hurry to satisfy his clients, examples of these frames obviously had to be prepared in advance. Some idea of the quality control the firm would have applied can be obtained from the correspondence concerning some garlanded pedestals ordered from the firm of Carlhian. A member of the Paris office declared the pedestals to be lacking in both elegance and vitality, and indeed look, '*pour user [sic] notre propre expression, "savonneuses"*'.²³ It could be argued that this aversion to the 'soapy' was taken too far: there is a relentless crispness in the cutting that distinguishes Duveen's frames from those of the early eighteenth century. He may have felt that it was important to exaggerate their tooled quality in order to demonstrate that they were not cast in composition or plaster.

Co-ordination between the three branches of the firm was on the whole impressive, but sometimes confusion arose over nomenclature. Thus, for example, in attempting to justify an error made in a previous cable, one member of the firm wrote, 'we are quite aware that the 30/25 frame is not really a pinkie frame, but a regence one, but we used this term as it is generally

were sold to an Italian publisher c.1900.

²¹ DBR, box 284 [reel 139], cable from the London office to the Paris office, 24th March 1924: 'We thank you for your wire informing us that you have not an English model full-length frame in stock, only a Regence model. We therefore have had one put in hand at once by Remy, but as there will not be time for us to send the frame to Paris to be gilded, we are letting this man do it, and should be so very much obliged if Mr Fowles would bring over with him next Monday a sample of the tone of gilding used on English frames which we sent you last year and which you had gilded'. See also Simon, *op. cit.* (note 9), pp.24 and 119; and *idem*: 'Directory of British Picture Framemakers 1750–1950', *op. cit.* (note 6).

²² DBR, box 254 [reel 109], cable from the Paris office to the London office, 11th August 1924: 'we should like to point out to you that these frames [small carved Régence frames] take six months to make'.

²³ Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, Special Collections, Carlhian Records, box 388, letter from Duveen Brothers to the Parisian decorating firm Carlhian, 8th September 1920.



40. Duveen standard frame (dove-wing or 'Sulley full-length' type) on *Mountjoy Blount, Earl of Newport*, by Anthony van Dyck. c.1637–38. Canvas, 215.9 by 129.5 cm. (Yale Center for British Art, New Haven).

used by New York when speaking of a French frame'.²⁴ There seems to have been a general uncertainty in the trade over what could be described as Régence.

The gilding of Duveen's frames was coloured and toned to match the paintings, as is very clear in the Huntington collections, where more such frames are assembled than anywhere else in the world. In fact, the varieties of finish on the frames of the full-length portraits may even be said to diminish the harmony achieved by their uniform style. When a painting could not be sent to Paris to be seen by the frame-maker, a colour plate ('lumière') was provided instead.²⁵ The firm's papers are also revealing in this regard: the rush to ship Romney's *Mary, Lady Beauchamp-Proctor* to America meant that its frame was,

²⁴ DBR, box 285 [reel 140], cable from the London office to the Paris office, 28th February 1925.

²⁵ 'Lumière' glass slides, named after the Lumière brothers who developed them in 1903 but more widely known as 'autochromes', are the product of one of the earliest colour photographic processes. Despite its cost, fragility and somewhat subdued chromatic rendering, the autochrome process had significant commercial success in the first quarter of the twentieth century. Duveen Brothers made extensive use of 'lumières'. References to the latter's importance in helping frame-makers working for Duveen decide on the suitable tone of gilding for their frames occur regularly in correspondence between the branches; see for example DBR, box 321 [reel 176], cable from the Paris office to the New York office, 3rd January 1936.



41. Detail of the frame in fig.40.

exceptionally, executed in London and that there was little time 'to experiment with the tone of the gold' but 'doubtless if you [Duveen] do not approve of it, it will take only a few hours to get it to your liking. In our opinion it is a little red'.²⁶

The firm's papers refer to two other types of frame, in addition to the three types discussed above. For full-length portraits by Van Dyck measuring approximately 84 by 48 inches a type known as the 'Sulley full-length frame' or the 'full-length Sulley Van Dyck' was favoured. This name was employed in 1920 and was probably in use earlier.²⁷ We can be fairly certain that it refers to the type of frame to be seen today on Van Dyck's *Robert Rich, 2nd Earl of Warwick* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), sold by Duveen to Jules S. Bache in 1925, as well as on the same

²⁶ DBR, box 284 [reel 139], cable from the London office to Joseph Duveen in New York, 17th April 1924.

²⁷ The earliest reference to the 'Sulley full-length' comes in correspondence concerning Lord Michelham's residence in 1920; DBR, box 490 [reel 345], cable from the London office to the New York office, 31st December 1920, but the expression may have been used for a specific painting as well as for the frame for a painting.

²⁸ Reynolds's *Mary Christina, Lady Arundell* (San Antonio Museum of Art); the painting measures 93 by 57½ in. (c.236 by 145 cm.). In 1935, the Paris office has at least three 84 by 48 in. 'Van Dyck' frames in stock; DBR, box 80 [reel 30], cable from the Paris office to the New York office, 13th July 1935. One was later enlarged to 94 by



42. *Cadres et bordures de tableaux de la fin du XVI^e siècle au Premier Empire*, Paris 1910, plate 35.

artist's *Queen Henrietta Maria with Sir Jeffrey Hudson* (National Gallery of Art, Washington), sold to William Randolph Hearst in 1929, and *Mountjoy Blount, Earl of Newport* (Yale Center for British Art, New Haven; Figs.40 and 41), purchased from Duveen by Anna Thomson Dodge in the same period. Examples of this type are not as common as the 'English model' frame but at least one example seems to have been enlarged for an eighteenth-century British portrait.²⁸ It has a broader hollow, no sanded flat, and a looser design than the 'English model' frame. Rocaille borders, which seem to have been peeled from the corner ornaments, now flow into the hollows and the centre ornaments on the sides, which differ from the centres on the short horizontals, are of irregular shape and incorporate a dove's wing.

More mysterious is the 'Hodgkins frame', also referred to as the 'Louis XV frame of the Hodgkins model', which the firm

58 in.; DBR, box 80 [reel 30], cable from the Paris office to the New York office, 20th September 1929.

²⁹ The correspondence in 1929 concerning Hoppner's portrait of *Elizabeth, Countess of Mexborough* includes the statement, 'as a rule for the Kit-Kat size, we use a Louis XV frame of the Hodgkins model'; DBR, box 254 [reel 109], cable from the Paris office to the London office, 20th July 1929.

³⁰ This publication, with sixty-two plates and an introductory text by Léon Deshairs, is rare. The plates are of admirable clarity and include details of corner ornaments, which suggest that they were made partly with an eye to facilitating the copying of the frames illustrated. It is one of only two volumes dedicated to frames in the Duveen firm's library, now at the Francine and Sterling Clark Art Institute



43. *Catherine Tatton*, by Thomas Gainsborough. Reproduced in *The collection of the late Lord Michelham at 20 Arlington Street, London S.W. Catalogue of pictures . . . , sale, Hampton & Sons, London, 24th November 1926*, lot 290.

favoured for English portraits of the 'Kit-kat style' (36 by 28 inches) and occasionally adapted to fit smaller paintings (30 by 25 inches).²⁹ It seems likely that this was a pierced and swept pattern. An original frame of this type, in the Musée Granet in Aix-en-Provence, was included as plate 35 in a photographic anthology, *Cadres et bordures de tableaux de la fin du XVI^e siècle au Premier Empire*, published in 1910 (Fig.42). This volume, which was in the firm's library,³⁰ appeared at the very date at which we suspect that Duveen had begun to formulate a framing policy. Reproductions of the Musée Granet frame were employed for several paintings in Lord Michelham's collection (Fig.43). We suspect that this was the type named after Hodgkins. Michelham was very closely associated with Duveen and it is tempting to suppose that Duveen suggested that the paintings be reproduced in their frames in the catalogue of Michelham's sale in 1926.³¹ Duveen later owned a highly elaborate version of this type of frame, which was reproduced in Serge Roche's anthology in 1931.³²

Arthur J. Sulley and Edwin M. Hodgkins were dealers; so too was Sir George Donaldson, to whose frames there are also references in Duveen's papers.³³ Did these dealers own the

Library, Williamstown. It is not known if Duveen acquired the work upon its publication.

³¹ *The collection of the late Lord Michelham at 20 Arlington Street, London S.W. Catalogue of pictures . . . , sale, Hampton & Sons, London, 24th November 1926*, lot 290. See also note 9 above.

³² S. Roche: *Cadres français et étrangers du XV^e au XVII^e siècle. Allemagne, Angleterre, Espagne, France, Italie, Pays-Bas*, Paris 1931, plate 62.

³³ Donaldson was active as a collector, dealer and decorator until about 1910; he died in 1925. Duveen Brothers' stock books indicate that period frames purchased from Donaldson were copied; see, for example, DBR, box 103 [reel 35], Paris stock book 1916–17, '1 Regence style frame carved wood Donaldson model'.

original models? Donaldson was a dealer in furniture and objets d'art as well as paintings, and Hodgkins must have owned antique frames – indeed, in 1925 he sold one such to Duveen for the high price of £600.³⁴ Did these dealers also use reproductions of these frame patterns on the paintings they sold? This would seem likely, because Duveen's phenomenal success was built on adopting and developing the methods of his rivals.³⁵

³⁴ DBR, box 466 [reel 321], cable from the Paris office to the New York office, 20th October 1925. Another frame was purchased from him the following year for £300; DBR, box 111 [reel 37], Paris stock books, p.67, purchased from Hodgkins '1 old Regence carved and gilt wood frame'. Duveen's name was often linked with Hodgkins's. In 1911 there was even an unfounded rumour that Duveen 'had gone into partnership with Hodgkins in Paris'; DBR, box 281 [reel 136], letter from Mrs Henry Oppenheim to Joseph Duveen, 12th September 1911.

³⁵ The 'Sulley model' seems to be an adaptation of a frame carved by Lebrun for A.J. Sulley in the 1910s. DBR, box 293 [reel 94], cable from the Paris office to the New York office, 20th October 1925: 'Frame [a]round Sulley Van Dyck [Earl of Kinnoull in Armour] is not old. Simply copy made by Lebrun before war. It is not as good as one we had made, as it has very high ornament at top which we reduced in Bache's frame [for Robert Rich, 2nd Earl of Warwick]; otherwise you would not be able to place picture on account of extra height'.

Although the policy we have outlined had its formulaic side, it was not adhered to rigidly and there are cases where the preferred types of frame were found not to work.³⁶ Furthermore, when framing Italian paintings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Duveen adopted an entirely different approach, depending exclusively on the services of one remarkable Italian craftsman, which will be the subject of a separate article.

³⁶ Following a request for advice on a suitable frame for a recently purchased Gainsborough landscape from the collection of Lord d'Abernon, a member of the Paris office (probably Edward Fowles) warned that the painting must be put 'in a simple Carlo Maratti Frame, nothing else would suit it. It is a very difficult picture to frame, owing to its very sketchy state and apparent emptiness at the top. A Louis XV Frame would not suit it at all, it would only exaggerate its unfinishedness'; DBR, box 244 [reel 99], cable from the Paris office to the London office, 13th June 1929. A simple Maratta frame was also preferred over the standard Régence model in the case of Hoppner's *Lady Waldegrave*; see DBR, box 254 [reel 109], cable from the London office to the Paris office, December 1926: 'we are quite aware that our small Régence frames would be much too heavy if cut for this small picture [...] We have discovered here a narrow Carlo Muratti [sic] frame which with a little alteration would suit the picture, but we know that Sir Joseph would much prefer a Régence Frame for it if you can find one'.

Recent acquisitions of glass sculpture at the Glasmuseum Henrich, Düsseldorf

by DEDO VON KERSSEN BROCK-KROSIKG

THE GLASMUSEUM HENTRICH has its origin in a museum of decorative arts founded in 1896. It gained its current importance and size through various purchases and donations, most notably through the patronage of the Düsseldorf architect Helmut Henrich (1905–2001), who donated his extensive glass

collection to the museum. Today, the Glasmuseum forms part of a foundation, the Stiftung Museum Kunst Palast, which evolved from the former art museum of the city of Düsseldorf. The Glasmuseum presents an overview of the history of glass from its beginnings until today. Islamic glass from the Middle



44. *A & O*, by Günter Thorn. 1991. Sheet glass, reinforcement bars and magnets, 178 by 131 by 45.3 cm. (Photograph courtesy of Horst Kolberg; Gl mfp 2008-5).



45. *99-08*, by Michael Behrens. 2008. Colourless glass, kiln-cast, pâte-de-verre overlay, fused, formed, cut and polished, 21.5 by 87 by 29 cm. (Photograph courtesy of Paul Niessen; Glasmuseum Henrich, Düsseldorf; Gl mfp 2008-12).



46. *Trafo*, by Wilken Skurk. 2007. Cast glass and patinated bronze, 115 by 65 by 50 cm. (Photograph courtesy of Lukas Spörle; Glasmuseum Hentrich, Düsseldorf; Gl m kp 2008–40).



47. *Waiting VII*, by Heike Brachlow. 2008. Yellow glass, kiln-cast, cut, sand-blasted and polished, 68.5 by 18 cm. (Photograph courtesy of Lothar Milatz; Glasmuseum Hentrich, Düsseldorf; Gl m kp 2008–293).

Ages and French Art Nouveau are the collection's particular strengths, but there are extraordinary highlights from almost every other major glassmaking period and region.

In 2008, acquisitions focused on contemporary glass. Over the past four decades glass art has been dominated by studio glass, i.e. by artists who specialise entirely in glass, forming a milieu of its own, which continues to exist independently from the main art scene. Glass art originated in the decorative arts, and artists continue to struggle with this association: other than bronze or marble, glass still seems to require vindication to be accepted as an artistic material.

But change is afoot. The number of individuals who consider themselves less as glass artists than as artists who work with glass is growing. While the first might tend to start from the glass material and to look for an idea for which they can use it, the latter start with the idea and come to choose glass if and when it suits their project.

Günter Thorn (b.1954) is a prime example. His conceptual work *A & O* (Fig.44) is easy to describe: sheets of glass and rods of metal support each other by the force of magnets in a precarious balance. His themes are balance and fragility, outline and space, and the invisible, both in the form of matter – the transparent glass – and of energy – the magnets. The choice and treatment of the materials has been reduced to express these phenomena as clearly as possible. Thorn chose the title in reference to the Greek alphabet, alpha and omega, beginning and end, to indicate that he saw his idea fully materialised in the resulting work. Thorn was raised in the Rhineland, studied art in Düsseldorf and today lives and works in a small town in the Westerwald region (east of Bonn). For more than twenty years he has also been assisting the Zero-artist Otto Piene with his projects.

Wilken Skurk (b.1956) is another sculptor who combines glass with other materials, in his case, bronze. Again, the balance

between materials plays a significant role. In his work *Trafo* (Fig.46), the balance seems tipped: the top, bronze with a concrete-like patina, rests heavily on the transparent and thus deceptively weightless-looking base, distantly resembling a natural rock-and-ice formation. Skurk's sculptures are cast in moulds and, except for the bronze patina, there is no treatment of the objects after their casting and assembly. The moulds are made from *objets trouvés*, for example, styrofoam casings from bathroom appliances. Thus, consumerism and Western habits intrude into the work without leaving easily recognisable traces. Neither these shapes nor the title ('*Trafo*' is German slang for an electrical transformer) are meant to lead the beholder in a certain direction, leaving ample room for interpretation and analogies. Skurk was trained as a goldsmith in Quedlinburg, East Germany. After the reunification of Germany he moved to Berlin, where he studied art at Humboldt University and at the University of Art (HdK); he now lives and works in Berlin.

Michael Behrens (b.1973) and Heike Brachlow (b.1970) both specialise in glass as their artistic material. After training as an industrial mechanic in Neuss (near Düsseldorf), Behrens studied art in Maastricht in the Netherlands, and today lives and works in Düsseldorf. His works are created by fusing chunks of glass that are coated in a *pâte-de-verre* technique with coloured glass, thus producing an effect of a floating network of patterns (Fig.45). His theme is the sea world, the colours of submarine life and the scattering of light through waves.

Heike Brachlow, born in Munich, learned glass blowing in Rotorua, New Zealand. She studied art in Wolverhampton and at the Royal College of Art in London. In her current work, she explores kinetic art (Fig.47). Glass in motion is always a little unnerving, and Brachlow uses it in an ambivalent way: beautiful and well proportioned on the one hand, a leap of faith on the other.

Art History Reviewed I:

Emile Mâle's 'L'art religieux du XIIIe siècle en France. Etude sur l'iconographie du moyen âge et sur ses sources d'inspiration', 1898

by ALEXANDRA GAJEWSKI

ORDER, DISCIPLINE AND EDUCATION governed the life of Emile Mâle (1862–1954), born in the village of Commentry (Allier), the son of a mining engineer. Graduating from the *lycée* at nearby Saint-Etienne with flying colours, he gained entry to the prestigious Ecole normale supérieure in Paris in 1883. In the following years, while teaching as professor of rhetoric at provincial *lycées* and later in Paris, he worked on his doctoral thesis on medieval French iconography. In 1898, at the age of thirty-six, he submitted *L'art religieux du XIIIe siècle en France. Etude sur l'iconographie du moyen âge et sur ses sources d'inspiration*,¹ which was published in the same year, dedicated to Georges Perrot, his former professor at the Ecole normale.² A German translation came out in 1907, one in English in 1913 and others were to follow.³ In the book, Mâle offered his readers the first systematic key to understanding medieval images, a knowledge he felt had been lost since the Reformation. Underlying Mâle's unaffected and subtle prose is the carefully argued theory that medieval art, and especially the thirteenth-century French cathedral, offers the viewer an encyclopaedic account of medieval Christian knowledge and represents a comprehensive vision of the intellectual and emotional world of the Middle Ages, indeed of its soul.⁴ This was the first of three books on iconography, but it remains the one that is best known and most often republished, retaining a firm place on university reading lists.⁵

Mâle was not the first French scholar to treat iconography as a separate field of scholarly inquiry. In mid-nineteenth-century France, a pioneering group of archaeologists – many of them clergymen – wrote studies on the subject, based on textual research and extensive travels, foremost among them Adolphe-Napoléon Didron (1806–67), whose *Iconographie Chrétienne: histoire de dieu* of 1843 was the first of a never realised, multi-volume compendium, and Augustin-Joseph Crosnier (1804–80), who published a textbook, *Iconographie Chrétienne*, in 1848.⁶ The

circumstances that motivated these authors still echo in Mâle's study. In the early nineteenth century, the unabated destruction of French medieval buildings galvanised individuals, writers such as Victor Hugo and government officials alike, to support and control the conservation of monuments, leading to the creation of the *Commission des Monuments Historiques* in 1837 and to the foundation of numerous antiquarian societies.⁷ Their founders, such as Arcisse de Caumont (1801–73), advocated an archaeological approach to medieval architecture.⁸ At the same time, the Catholic revival also sparked an interest in medieval art, boosted by the public success of Chateaubriand's *Génie du christianisme*, first published in 1802. The century's most famous convert to Catholicism revealed how the beauty of nature and art, especially Gothic art, could inspire religious sentiment and the reminiscence of a more idyllic past.⁹ Recovering the lost insight into medieval traditions of Christian religious imagery seemed essential to the enthusiastic faithful and the clergy alike.¹⁰ Crosnier, a canon at Nevers and curé at Donzy, as well as Inspecteur des Monuments for the Nièvre region, who dedicated his *Iconographie Chrétienne* to the bishop of Nevers, described archaeology without iconography as a body without a soul, and his handbook aimed as much at instructing as inspiring religious thought.¹¹ Crosnier knew Didron's book, published five years earlier. Didron, a sometime candidate for the priesthood, later became what Elisabeth Emery calls a liberal neo-Catholic. The publication he founded, *Les Annales Archéologiques*, was financed by Catholic patrons, including A.W.N. Pugin.¹² His *Iconographie Chrétienne* was proofread by a theologian, and was intended as an aid for clergymen interested in Christian archaeology.¹³

Mâle acknowledged his debt to these writers, but also emphasised their shortcomings. For him, they belonged to another, romantic and amateurish age.¹⁴ Undoubtedly, Mâle's own approach was more methodical and systematic. In the fifty years

We are grateful to the Azam Foundation for sponsoring this article.

¹ Unless otherwise indicated, my references are to E. Mâle: *The Gothic Image. Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century*, New York, Evanston, San Francisco and London 1972 (hereafter cited as Mâle), which is a reprint of Dora Nussey's translation of the third French edition published as E. Mâle: *Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century: A study in medieval iconography and its sources of inspiration*, London 1913. More recently, Princeton published a new edition: E. Mâle: *Religious Art in France. The Thirteenth Century. A Study of Medieval Iconography and its sources* (Bollinger Series, 90.2), transl. by M. Mathews, Princeton 1985.

² A. Adam: 'Les années de jeunesse et de formation d'après la correspondance et les souvenirs', in *Emile Mâle (1862–1954), La construction de l'œuvre: Rome et l'Italie*, Rome 2005, pp.7–20.

³ 'Bibliographie des travaux d'Emile Mâle', in *ibid.*, pp.317–39.

⁴ '... we feel that there is something in [thirteenth-century art] akin to a soul'; Mâle, p.viii.

⁵ For Mâle's later publications, see the bibliography cited at note 3 above.

⁶ For Didron, see C. Brissac and J.-M. Lénaud: 'Adolphe-Napoléon Didron ou les media au service de l'art chrétien', *Revue de l'Art* 77 (1987), pp.33–42. Mâle also

mentions C. Cahiers and A. Martin; for those two and for Crosnier, see J. Neyrolles: 'Deux approches de l'iconographie médiévale dans les années 1840', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 128/1534 (1996), pp.201–22.

⁷ E. Emery: *Romancing the Cathedral*, New York 2001, pp.11–22; and J.-M. Lénaud: *Viollet-le-Duc ou les délires du système*, Paris 1994, pp.27–34.

⁸ See E. Vergnolle: 'La Société Française d'Archéologie de sa fondation 1834 à nos jours', presentation given at Society of Antiquaries of London, edited 2009 (on SFA website), <http://www.sal.org.uk/newsandevents/antiquariesineurope>, accessed 5th April 2009.

⁹ For the impact of Chateaubriand's views on nineteenth-century France, see W. Sauerländer: 'La cathédrale et la Révolution', in *idem: Cathedrals and sculpture*, London 2000, II, pp.841–43; on Chateaubriand's philosophy of nature, see A. Adam: 'La genèse d'une cathédrale romantique: le Génie du Christianisme de Chateaubriand', in J. Prungaud, ed.: *La Cathédrale*, Villeneuve d'Ascq 2001, pp.51–57.

¹⁰ In addition to the authors mentioned, see J. Michelet: *Histoire de France au Moyen Age*, Paris (2nd ed.), II, p.661; 'Elle est veuve, elle est vide l'église. Son profond symbolism, qui parlait alors si haut, il est devenu muet'; and J.-K. Huysmans, letter to Arrij Prin of

that had passed, art history had developed into an academic discipline and Mâle's intended audience was an art-historical one.¹⁵ Also, the 1870 Franco-Prussian war and the loss of Strasbourg with its cathedral had focused the minds of Mâle and his generation of French scholars on the national importance of their art treasures.¹⁶ Furthermore, as Emery argued, in *fin-de-siècle* France, riven apart by religious, political and artistic disputes, the cathedral was becoming a symbol of a harmonious and united society, 'the synthesis of the country'.¹⁷ Thus, Mâle, in contrast to earlier writers who had extended their inquiries in time and distance, saw fit to concentrate his study on thirteenth-century France since 'it was in France that the doctrine of the Middle Ages found its perfect artistic form' and 'thirteenth-century France was the fullest conscious expression of Christian thought'.¹⁸ In fact, most of his study concerns the cathedrals of north-eastern France that novelists such as Hugo, from the earlier generation, and Mâle's contemporaries Zola, Huysmans and Proust were celebrating.¹⁹ Clearly, the agenda had changed. Unlike the earlier generation of iconographers, Mâle's foremost objective in providing a guide to Christian imagery was neither to emphasise the importance of Christianity nor to gather empirical data as a basis for scholarly study, though both of these were important to him. The imperative was rather to find the key to reading the cathedral as it represented a period when French civilisation was pre-eminent. The last line of Mâle's book asks: 'When shall we understand that in the domain of art France has accomplished nothing greater?'.²⁰

Yet despite this shift in attitude Mâle was deeply influenced by the earlier authors, especially by Didron. Like them, he believed in the central importance of Christian art, and it was from Didron that Mâle developed some of his most fundamental concepts, especially his belief in the heuristic quality of Christian art. Furthermore, Mâle borrowed from Didron the idea of basing the structure of his book on the four volumes of the thirteenth-century *Speculum maius*, or Great Mirror, of the Dominican Vincent of Beauvais (d. 1264), the *Specula naturale, doctrinale, morale* and *historale*,²¹ an immense florilegium of ancient and medieval texts, intended as a compendium of all the knowledge of its time.²² However, in contrast to Didron's incapacity to discipline the subject, Mâle's ability for synthesising is evident from the way he adapted the ponderous structure of the *Speculum* to his own designs. He devoted one chapter to each of Vincent's *Specula*, using its overarching idea as an inspiration, and always taking images and objects as the starting point for his discussion.

The book starts with a chapter on the general character of medieval iconography, where we learn that art was tightly governed by a set of immutable rules compared by Mâle in turn to a script, a calculus and a symbolic code. Next, in the Mirror of Nature, a commentary on the seven days of creation in Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum*, Mâle discusses the possible meaning of the plants, animals and monsters that decorate cathedrals. He affirms the importance of the twelfth-century *Speculum Ecclesiae* by Honorius Augustodunensis for the representation of a specific type of symbolic animal, such as the lion, the eagle and the phoenix, ultimately derived from bestiaries. In general, however, he sees in the representation of flora and fauna an area free of symbolic meaning – almost the only area where the artists were allowed to use their own imagination. In the Mirror of Instruction he takes the cue from Vincent's declaration in the preface to the *Speculum doctrinale*, that man can redeem himself from the Fall by instruction (*doctrina*).²³ He thus analyses images of the labours of the months, which reflect the lived experience of medieval man, as well as the seven liberal arts and philosophy, their representation being based on late antique texts by Martianus Capella and Boethius. The *Speculum morale* is apocryphal, but Mâle considered that it formed part of Vincent's original project.²⁴ In the Mirror of Morals, he discusses the early Christian *Psychomachia* of Prudentius, the Vices and Virtues and active and contemplative life. This is one of the few occasions when Mâle signifies changes in types of imagery: the battle scenes of the *Psychomachia* become less frequent from the late twelfth century onwards and give way to representations of the theological and cardinal virtues. Finally, the Mirror of History, which takes up about two thirds of the whole book, presents the story of man according to Vincent's view that history is the story of those chosen by God. It is divided into sub-chapters on the Old Testament, the Gospels, apocryphal stories, the saints and the Golden Legend, antiquity and secular history, and finishes with the Apocalypse and the Last Judgment, thus guiding us 'from the awakening of the first man under the hand of the Creator to his eternal rest in the heart of God'.²⁵

For Mâle, as for Didron before him, the adoption of Vincent's structure was more than a clever literary device. Both believed that the imagery of the medieval cathedrals was itself arranged according to the order of the *Speculum* and that its fullest expression was to be found on the north and south transept portals at Chartres (Fig.48) from the first third of the thirteenth century, making Chartres an encyclopaedia in stone.²⁶ The metaphor of

2nd February 1897: 'I am redoing all of medieval symbolism, something that no longer exists . . .'; quoted in Emery, *op. cit.* (note 7), p.116; and E. Mâle: *Art et artistes du Moyen Age*, Paris 1939 (3rd ed.), p.v.

¹¹ A.-J. Crosnier: *Iconographie Chrétienne*, Paris 1848, pp.4 (with reference to Apocalypse 21) and 8.

¹² Emery, *op. cit.* (note 7), pp.20–21.

¹³ A.-N. Didron: *Iconographie Chrétienne: histoire de dieu*, Paris 1843, pp.xx–xxi.

¹⁴ Mâle, pp.viii–xi.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.viii. For art history in France, see L. Therrien: *L'histoire de l'art en France, genèse d'une discipline universitaire*, Paris 1998, pp.221–344; R. Recht: 'Emile Mâle, Henri Focillon et l'histoire de l'art du Moyen Age', *Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres* (November–December 2004), pp.1653–55.

¹⁶ In his memoirs, Mâle recalled that the defeat of 1870 awoke in him the wish to do something for humiliated France, and that while travelling in France he first had the idea of devoting himself to a French subject of research; see E. Mâle: *Souvenirs et correspondances de jeunesse*, Nonette 2001, pp.86 and 133. For the effect of 1870 on France, see E. Emery and L. Morowitz: *Consuming the Past, the Medieval Revival in fin-de-siècle France*, Aldershot 2003, pp.19–24.

¹⁷ Emery, *op. cit.* (note 7), pp.29–35; of course, Mâle himself contributed to that vision of the cathedral. For the cathedral in nineteenth-century France, see also Sauerländer, *op. cit.* (note 9), pp.830–64.

¹⁸ Mâle, p.x.

¹⁹ Emery, *op. cit.* (note 7), p.5; Emery points out that Zola, Huysmans and Proust were the only authors of this period whose writings described real cathedrals.

²⁰ Mâle, p.399.

²¹ For Didron's and Mâle's appreciation of Vincent of Beauvais, see J. Schneider: 'Vincent de Beauvais à l'épreuve des siècles', in S. Lusignan and M. Paulmier-Foucart, eds.: *Lector et Compilator Vincent de Beauvais, frère prêcheur, un intellectuel et son milieu au XIIIe siècle*, Grâne 1997, pp.31–32 and 36–37. Mâle used the printed edition *Speculum Maius*, IV, Douai 1624.

²² *Idem*: 'Vincent de Beauvais et l'histoire du "Speculum Maius"', *Journal des Savants* (January–June 1990), pp.97–124.

²³ *Ibid.*, p.107, note 29; the idea goes back to Hugh of St Victor.

²⁴ Modern scholarship supports this view; see *ibid.*, p.99, note 6.

²⁵ Mâle, p.389.

²⁶ Didron, *op. cit.* (note 13), pp.vi–vii and xiii–xvii; and Mâle, pp.vii–xv and 58–63.

the ‘cathedral as a book’ was popular at the time, especially since it had been used to great success by Hugo in his *Notre-Dame de Paris* of 1831,²⁷ a position acknowledged by Mâle in his conclusion.²⁸ Like Hugo, Mâle saw the cathedral as an expression of society’s aspirations, but while Hugo regarded book and cathedral as alternative expressions, arguing that the book had superseded the cathedral,²⁹ Mâle perceived a relationship between the two in which the rules and contents of text governed art.³⁰ This relationship was not necessarily a direct one. It did not matter whether the ‘men of genius’ who conceived the ensemble at Chartres had known the *Speculum*. A more general common factor united the intellectual cathedral and the cathedral in stone, pointing to a higher level of consciousness.³¹ According to Mâle, in the thirteenth century both literature and art reflected the thought of the Middle Ages, and it was the thought that worked within the material and fashioned it.³² Sustained by common thought, art and other forms of human expression were infinitely translatable from one to the other. The art of the cathedral was therefore both ‘theology and liturgy embodied in concrete form’,³³ and the laws that governed the creation of images could be compared to music.³⁴ Equally, the drama of the liturgy and of mystery plays manifested the same thought as the cathedral.³⁵ However, Mâle’s ‘thought of the time’ was no abstract entity in the sense of a Hegelian ‘Zeitgeist’. It could perhaps best be described as the intellectual framework of the time, which he believed to have reached a high point in the thirteenth century, an era that was above all intellectual.³⁶

By insisting on the importance of intellectual thought in art, Mâle distanced himself in another way from Hugo. For the novelist, the cathedral was an expression of secular society and created by lay artists. As a Catholic, Mâle objected to the anti-clericalism underlying this argument.³⁷ Mâle criticised Hugo for having portrayed medieval artists as proto-revolutionary free-thinkers and was at pains to demonstrate that the thirteenth century was dogmatic, a finished system, a time when artists obeyed the rules set in place by the church. Despite these differences, Mâle praised the novelist in a lecture given at the Sorbonne in 1908 as the first to have understood the genius of the Middle Ages, which the learned Benedictines had previously misjudged.³⁸ In *Religious Art in France*, the term ‘genius of the Middle Ages’ is used repeatedly, and it seems to denote a broader concept than ‘thought’, including not only the *erudit* but the whole of society.³⁹ For Mâle, in fact, the artist, so important to Hugo, played a central role in the creation of art, despite (or, as we shall see, because of) his limited possibilities of self-expression. Although Mâle envisaged that the order and types of images were generally devised by theologians, nonetheless, the obedient and

faithful artist was ‘just as skilful in spiritualising material objects as the theologians’; he animated the work and invested it with his love.⁴⁰ The synergy existing between theologian and artist made the creative process possible and established unity and a profound harmony.⁴¹ The genius, therefore, included the artist who set the thought free, revealing the spiritual soul of the Middle Ages.

While thus anchoring his notion of artistic creation firmly in the people, both theologians and artists, Mâle presented the French cathedral as a total work of art; not only in the sense that it combined different media – sculpture, stained glass and architecture – but also in that it is ‘the sum of revelation. In it all the arts combined, speech, music, the living drama of the Mysteries and the mute drama of sculpture’.⁴² The concept of the total work of art had some currency in *fin-de-siècle* Paris where it had been inspired by Wagner’s idea of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* and gained popular appeal through Baudelaire, the Symbolists and Huysmans.⁴³ Like Zola, Huysmans and Proust in their novels, it is at the end of his book that Mâle offers the final key to understanding the importance of the cathedral. In his haunting concluding passage he develops a utopian vision in which he invites the reader to enter a virtual cathedral, leaving all the worries of this world behind. The cathedral’s broad flanks offer safety, it is the indestructible ark, and acts as a purifying sacrament. For Mâle, it promises redemption. The cathedral had been possible because of the inherent virtue and deep spirituality of medieval man, especially the artist, who was pure, austere and respectful and who understood the symbolic nature of the world. For Mâle, as for Zola, Huysmans and Proust, it was the model for an ideal state of society before its disintegration. It was egalitarian in that it addressed all men, at all levels of life, and was communal. When the congregation became one in the body of Christ, society came closest to tasting the everlasting joy of heavenly Jerusalem.⁴⁴

The importance of Mâle’s publication was quickly recognised in France and abroad. In 1928, Mâle’s first three books on iconography were warmly received by the German iconographer Karl Künstle, who acknowledged Mâle’s lucid presentation of the subject-matter and the originality of his approach.⁴⁵ However, Künstle’s own study of Christian iconography is now considered to have been obsolete by the time it appeared in 1928.⁴⁶ For while Künstle insisted on the superiority of Christian art as a subject for art history and refused to apply the method to a wider range of images, a new generation of scholars in Hamburg, among them Erwin Panofsky and Fritz Saxl, was busy developing the broader and more inclusive methods of a cultural history pioneered by Aby Warburg since the late nineteenth century.⁴⁷

²⁷ V. Hugo: *Notre-Dame de Paris*, Paris 1831, V, II: ‘Ceci tuera cela’; see also Emery, *op. cit.* (note 7), pp.15–16.

²⁸ Mâle, p.390.

²⁹ Sauerländer, *op. cit.* (note 9), pp.845–48; and Emery, *op. cit.* (note 7).

³⁰ D. Russo: ‘Emile Mâle, l’art dans l’histoire’, in *op. cit.* (note 2), pp.257–59; and J. Baschet: ‘L’iconographie médiévale’, in *ibid.*, p.277.

³¹ Mâle, p.23.

³² *Ibid.*, pp.viii, ix and 26; he also calls it ‘l’esprit’ (p.20).

³³ *Ibid.*, p.184.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p.22; perhaps a reference to Hugo, who called Notre-Dame a ‘vaste symphonie en pierre’, in Hugo, *op. cit.* (note 27), III, I.

³⁵ Mâle, pp.169–70.

³⁶ Mâle’s understanding of ‘thought’ becomes very clear when, in the French edition, he asserts that those images that had no ulterior meaning were ‘exemptes de

pensée'; E. Mâle: *L’art religieux du XIIIe siècle en France*, Paris 1948 (8th ed.), p.124.

³⁷ According to Mâle’s memoirs, he rediscovered Catholicism in the course of his work on the Middle Ages; see Mâle, *op. cit.* (note 16), p.152: ‘l’étude du Moyen Age me fit sentir la grandeur et la bienfaisance de cette religion, qui n’a pas de commune mesure avec les autres’.

³⁸ E. Mâle: ‘Cours d’iconographie chrétienne, première leçon’, in *op. cit.* (note 2), pp.67–70.

³⁹ In the French edition; Mâle, *op. cit.* (note 36), e.g. pp.55, 58, 63 and 121; see also A. Grabar: ‘Notice sur la vie et les travaux de M. Emile Mâle’, *Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres* (January–March 1962), pp.328–44.

⁴⁰ Mâle, *passim*, esp. pp.20 (for quotation), 52–53 and 283.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, e.g. p.22.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p.397.

⁴³ Emery and Morowitz, *op. cit.* (note 16), pp.92–108; and Recht, *op. cit.* (note 15), p.1656.



48. Detail of the central portal of the north transept, Chartres Cathedral, showing (from left to right) Melchisedech, Abraham and Isaac, Moses, Samuel and David. Early thirteenth century. (Photograph courtesy of the Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, London).

Despite his own life-long specialisation in Christian themes, Mâle has on the whole escaped such harsh judgment. Even his critics acknowledge the groundbreaking achievement of *Religious Art* and its importance for the discipline of art history on the one hand and for the study of iconography on the other.⁴⁸ By the time his book was published, art historians in and outside France began to realise the value of iconography, and Mâle remained the torch bearer for the subject.⁴⁹ Furthermore, in 1906, one year

after the separation of Church and State in France, Mâle was offered a chair in art history at the Sorbonne to teach Christian medieval art.⁵⁰ He introduced to the academic world of France his systematic approach to images and sources, as well as his ideas, thus shaping a new generation of art historians.⁵¹

Nonetheless, some of the central precepts of Mâle's study have been the object of intense discussion, above all, the nationalism of his Franco-centric view. Furthermore, the idea of the medieval image as a bible for the illiterate has been refined by paying closer attention to the distribution of literacy among the different social classes of medieval society. Mâle's theory of the immutable and unchangeable quality of medieval art that left little freedom for the creativity of the artist has been contradicted, for example, by projects such as the Index of Christian Art at Princeton University; the large corpus of images in the Index has highlighted the diversity among image types. Finally, it has been pointed out that Mâle neglects questions of politics, patronage and social context while his emphasis on the thought that fashions art dematerialises the object, turning it into an accessory.⁵²

It seems futile, however, to try to distinguish between the still useful and the outdated elements of *Religious Art*. Mâle's belief in the superiority of French art, the importance he attached to thought and his subtle but complex view of the role of the artist form the framework of his study and cannot be removed at leisure in order to enjoy the rest. Indeed, what makes *Religious Art* outdated in comparison with current scholarship is also its greatest strength. His interest in the anonymous artist and the emotional quality he brought to art, which he further developed in *Religious Art in France: The Late Middle Ages*, foreshadows the methodological approach of *histoire de mentalité*.⁵³ Even more important, Mâle's *fin-de-siècle* cathedral utopia, which brings to light what he saw as the genius of the Middle Ages, also enriches the study far beyond the investigation of the symbolic content of images; like Warburg and Panofsky slightly later, Mâle was essentially interested in the history of ideas.

By adopting the structure of Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum*, Mâle entered the intellectual process of its creation, writing himself an encyclopaedia that had the twofold function of the medieval *Speculum*: it served as a mirror to show what the (medieval) world was and, by reflecting back on the reader, pointed out what he should be.⁵⁴ Historiography has shown us that the mirror also reflects back on the author and his time. Mâle's hybrid work, an academic study with utopian and semi-autobiographical elements is, of course, itself a cathedral and a total work of art, which assigns it to its time but also ensures its enduring appeal.

⁴⁴ Mâle, pp.396–99; Mâle, like many of his contemporaries, was unhappy with his times; see also pp.129 and 284. For Zola's *Les Trois Villes* and Huysmans's Durtal cycle, see Emery, *op. cit.* (note 7); for Huysmans, see also O.G. Oexle and M.A. Bojcov, eds.: *Bilder der Macht im Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, Göttingen 2007, p.633.

⁴⁵ K. Künstle: 'Symbolik und Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst. Zur Methodologie der christlichen Ikonographie', in E. Kaemmerling, ed.: *Ikonographie und Ikonologie: Theorien, Entwicklung, Probleme*, Cologne 1979, pp.72–73.

⁴⁶ G. Kopp-Schmidt: *Ikonographie und Ikonologie: eine Einführung*, Cologne 2004, pp.47–48.

⁴⁷ K. Michels: *Aby Warburg: Im Bannkreis der Ideen*, Munich 2007, pp.61–105.

⁴⁸ See X. Barral I Altet: *L'art médiéval*, Paris 1991 (13th ed.), pp.111–13; and Russo, *op. cit.* (note 30); see also note 52 below.

⁴⁹ For iconography around 1900, see H. Dilly: 'Emile Mâle (1862–1954)', in *idem*,

ed.: *Altmeister moderner Kunsgeschichte*, Berlin 1999, pp.132–48; and Recht, *op. cit.* (note 15), pp.1657–59.

⁵⁰ Therrien, *op. cit.* (note 15), pp.293–97.

⁵¹ For the impressions of one of his former students, see G. Bazin: *Histoire de l'histoire de l'art*, Paris 1986, pp.208–14.

⁵² See Grabar, *op. cit.* (note 39); L. Neagley's review of Mâle's *Religious Art in France*, Princeton 1986, in *Speculum* 65 (1990), pp.192–94; M. Camille: *The Gothic Idol. Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art*, Cambridge 1989, p.xxvii; A. Corbellari: 'Emile Mâle et Joseph Bédier: de la gloire de la France à l'apologie des clercs', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 132 (1998), pp.235–44; R. Recht: *Le croire et le voir*, Paris 1999, pp.290–307; and Baschet, *op. cit.* (note 30).

⁵³ Neagley, *op. cit.* (note 53).

⁵⁴ See R. Bradley: 'Backgrounds of the title "Speculum" in medieval literature', *Speculum* 29 (1954), pp.100–15.

Books

Kalenderhane in Istanbul. The buildings, their history, architecture and decoration. Edited by Cecil L. Striker and Y. Doğan Kuban. 150 pp. incl. 16 col. + 40 b. & w. ills., 38 plans and 30 fold-outs. (Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz-am-Rhein, 1997), €51. ISBN 978-3-8053-2026-9.

Kalenderhane in Istanbul. The excavations. Final report on the archaeological exploration and restoration at the Kalenderhane Camii, 1966–78. Edited by Cecil L. Striker & Y. Doğan Kuban. 387 pp. incl. 26 col. + 102 b. & w. ills. (Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz-am-Rhein, 2007), €51. ISBN 978-3-8053-3818-9.

Reviewed by J.M. ROGERS

THE KALENDERHANE MOSQUE, an impressive Byzantine church with, after Hagia Sophia and St Saviour in Chora, the finest marble panelling in Istanbul, stands in the quarter of Şehzadebas at the eastern end of the Aqueduct of Valens on its southern side. It was excavated from 1966 to 1978 by the editors of the publication reviewed here under the auspices of Dumbarton Oaks in Washington and Istanbul Technical University. Five preliminary reports were published in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* volumes XXI to XXIX, and the two volumes under review represent a final report. Excavation of the areas surrounding the Main church completed in 1970 was followed by a programme of soundings inside the building to resolve particular problems in its structural history. The stratigraphy was as complex as the structural history of the site, and the compilation of a general phase table – a monumental task which took decades of work – is a heroic achievement.

The second volume, which has now appeared ten years after the first, includes an updated study of the brick-stamps (p.341); a brief account of the skeletal material, mostly from the later seasons of excavation (p.373); a survey of the sculptural fragments; and summary catalogues of the pottery and glass-finds (pp.49–173). Of greatest interest is the well-thought-out and agreeably forthright numismatic report by Michael Hendy (pp.175–296), who also published the coins from the late Martin Harrison's contemporary excavations at the nearby church of St Polyeuktos at Sarayhane. He has used the delay to reflect on the implications of these two, largely complementary, coin series to excellent effect and his report is a significant contribution to the monetary history of Byzantium for the seven hundred or so years the site was occupied.

Volume I is devoted to the architecture and its decoration. The earliest building on the site was a late Roman bath. The first ecclesiastical building, the North church with a probable

terminus of Justin II (565–78), was a standard basilica, much modified by the cramped irregularity of the site, and an associated monastery. The heavily built-up site entailed much adaptation of existing structures and was, the authors conclude, more typical of building in Constantinople than artificially levelled sites like St Polyeuktos or Hagia Sophia. The second church was the probably seventh-century timber-roofed 'Bema' church, built on a different axis to the south of the North church and much modified in later centuries: notably, with the addition of a probably tenth-century diaconicon and a complex of associated chapels (I, pp.81–87; II, pp.8–9). This latter, which houses most of the surviving paintings and mosaics, also underwent numerous modifications in the course of its history.

Following a major fire on 25th July 1197 the building of the Main church, the last large-scale church of Byzantium, was begun and completed only a few months before the Crusader occupation of the city in 1204. The redating of the plan, which previously was generally dated to the ninth century, demands a radical revision of the conventionally accepted chronology of Byzantine architecture. The church was practically untouched under the Latin occupation and underwent only minor repairs under the Palaeologues. Under the Ottomans, when it became a mosque, the apse and the upper galleries of the two narthexes were removed and a minaret added, probably in the course of the restoration of the building by Beşir Ağa (1160 AH/1746–47 AD).

The Byzantine name of Kalenderhane was for years a matter of speculation. Albrecht Burger has now established (I, pp.7–17) that the 'Bema' church was, by 1000, known as the church of the Virgin Kyriotissa (that is, as she was venerated in 'ta Kyrou', a monastery founded in the western part of Constantinople by Kyros, the city prefect from 438 to 441 under Theodosius II), as was confirmed by labels of the fresco icons over the door to its exonarthex and in the diaconicon (I, pp.124–26). The monastery was evidently suppressed by the Iconoclasts, but some time after the defeat of the Iconoclast party in 843, the icon was miraculously rediscovered and transferred to the 'Bema' church and then to the Main church itself when that came to supersede it. Interestingly, no iconographical type of the Virgin Kyriotissa appears ever to have existed, and the considerable discussion provoked by their first publication, brought an important distinction between the iconographical type and the prototype(s) of an icon: thus icons of the same type may often bear different labels, the purpose of which, like the Virgin Kyriotissa, was to identify the prototype of which the icon was a copy.

The decorative features of principal interest are the mosaics and frescos. The earliest is a Presentation mosaic in the North church, probably from the original sixth-century construction. After S. Maria Maggiore in Rome it must be the second datable Presentation mosaic in early Christian art, and the only pre-Iconoclasm mosaic from Constantinople. The most

important pictorial decoration, however, was frescos of the Latin and Palaeologan periods, of which a fresco of St Francis post-dating his canonisation in 1228 has evoked most comment. It depicts the saint holding an open book, with five scenes from his life and miracles in three registers to either side of him. Most of these are too poorly preserved to be precisely identifiable, but they have been convincingly attributed by the late Hugo Buchthal to a Crusader workshop active at Acre which executed the illustrations of the *Bible de l'Arsenal* in Paris (Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal; cod.5211) for Louis IX c.1250–54, and the authors date the Kalenderhane fresco accordingly.

There may, however, be room for disagreement on the date, for the Kalenderhane coin sequence includes a Latin series, c.1228–61, mostly from the reign of the emperor John of Brienne (reg.1231–37). Brienne had previously been king and then regent of Jerusalem and was an enthusiastic supporter of St Francis and the Franciscan order, which he entered in the last years of his life, and, in Michael Hendy's view the coin-finds strongly suggest both that Kalenderhane under the Latin occupation was actually a Franciscan church and that the fresco was ordered by Brienne himself. To this Striker (I, p.141–42; II, p.179, note 13) retorts that the installation of the fresco and the deposit of the coins were unconnected, but he ignores Brienne's connections with the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the distinct possibility that the workshop had worked for him before working for Louis IX.

These two volumes, a monument to American–Turkish co-operation, are splendidly produced to the highest standards of the publisher Philipp von Zabern. Their most impressive feature is their rich graphic documentation, which is largely the work of the architect Daniel K. McCoubrey. It comprises thirty-one folio orthographic plans, elevations and sections giving a skeleton history of the features depicted, together with seven excavation plans and elevations in their present state, fifty-nine interpretative plans, sections, isometric projections and reconstructions, and a full set of photographs in colour or black and white.

Crown and Veil: female monasticism from the fifth to fifteenth centuries.

Edited by Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Susan Marti, translated by Dietlinde Hamburger. 318 pp. incl. 73 b. & w. ills. (Columbia University Press, New York, 2008), £23.50. ISBN 978-0-231-13980-9.

Reviewed by MEGHAN CALLAHAN

THE BOOK UNDER review is the English translation and revision of the catalogue *Krone und Schleier. Kunst aus mittelalterlichen Frauenklöstern*, the exhibition held in Bonn and Essen in 2005, and a useful addition to the studies of Western female religious orders and

their role in the history of art and architecture. It is very different from the catalogue, the focus no longer being on art but on the history of the nuns and convents where such works were created and used (p.xx). While the subtitle might indicate that it is pan-European in scope, the book treats female monasticism in the German-speaking territories of Europe from c.600 to 1500 and only briefly delves into the history of convents elsewhere. *Crown and Veil* fits well with the more recent attempts to synthesise studies of individual nuns or convents to create a broader history.¹

The editors have reduced the catalogue's six hundred colour illustrations to seventy black-and-white images. It would be useful to consult the catalogue's reproductions of the objects that made up the nuns' visual culture side-by-side with this volume: works such as the *Paradise garden* (cat. no.2.10 in the English version), a three-dimensional multi-media work of embroidery, calligraphy and gold leaf, comes to life in colour when the group work that contributed to its making and its multi-layered meaning as reliquary and *hortus conclusus* can be appreciated (p.59).

The English version is divided into twelve chapters. Jan Gerchow and Susan Marti's contribution on the historiography of female medieval monasticism is particularly useful as it considers how and why 'nuns' work' ('*Nonnenarbeit*') has in the past been interpreted in an over-simplistic manner which coloured subsequent scholarship until Hamburger (and others) realised that it shed light on the lives both of its creators and its users (p.135).

Most of the authors share a concern to reassess modern views of the medieval convent. Hamburger, Marx and Marti note that although contemporaries might consider the convent a prison, 'for the nuns [...] it was the world that was the true prison. The cloister was a paradisiacal space of idealized interiority that provided a foretaste of the world to come' (p.61). For nuns who willingly took vows to dedicate themselves to Christ – in contrast to those who underwent forced monachation, such as the Venetian Arcangela Tarabotti (1604–62) – the convent was where they wanted to be. Their texts and works show this desire, as illustrated in the drawings and manuscripts accompanying the chapters by Barbara Newman and Caroline Walker Bynum.

Werner Rösener writes on the economic life of convents and on how nuns were able to sustain themselves through donations in the face of rules governing female ownership of property and their limited access to the outside world. He explains how *Frauenstifte*, whether Benedictine, Cistercian or Mendicant convents, as well as communities of Beguines, interacted with the outside world of economics and trade, an important consideration when seeing convents as functioning members of the urban fabric, which explains why the walls of enclosure had at times to be porous to allow for legal and economic transactions to be carried out by men on behalf of the sisters.

Gabriela Signori examines how ties to the outside world were maintained through the

exchanges between nuns and their secular relatives, citing examples from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in France and Germany. Her generalisation that 'previous research on monastic orders looked at medieval female monastic communities from the inside' (p.270) should be qualified. Research in this area and on the relaxed rules of enclosure in some convents has been underway for years in studies of Italian convents.²

My one complaint is that the chapters become repetitive – nearly every author presents Bishop Caesarius of Arles's rules for the nuns of Saint-Jean in Arles, the *Institutio sanctimonialium* of 816, and Pope Boniface VIII's *Periculoso*. An index would also have been useful, but these are minor points and *Crown and Veil* will be of enormous value for English-speaking scholars.

¹ See, for example, S. Evangelisti: *Nuns: A History of Convent Life*, New York 2007, which also treats convents in the Americas.

² See among others the work of S. Weddle: "'Women in Wolves' Mouths': Nuns' Reputations and Architecture at the Convent of Le Murate', in H. Hills, ed.: *Architecture and the Politics of Gender in Early Modern Europe*, Burlington VT 2003, pp.115–29; S. Strocchia: 'Sisters in Spirit: The Nuns of Sant' Ambrogio and Their Consorority in Early Sixteenth-Century Florence', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 33 (2002), pp.735–67; and G. Radke: 'Nuns and Their Art: The Case of San Zaccaria in Renaissance Venice', *Renaissance Quarterly* 54 (2001), pp.430–59.

morally shattered Europe tried to turn back to its spiritual origins in the Middle Ages, that exhibitions of medieval art became politically and ideologically fashionable. In Germany a whole series of splendid medieval exhibitions was installed, from *Ars Sacra* in 1950 (Munich) through *Werdendes Abendland an Rhein und Ruhr* in 1956 (Essen), *Karl der Große, Werk und Wirkung* in 1965 (Aix-la-Chapelle), a show clearly motivated by the dream of a United Europe and of a reconciliation between France and Western Germany. In France the titles of some – not all – medieval exhibitions sounded no less sonorous: *Saint Louis à la Sainte-Chapelle* (Paris, 1960), *Cathédrales* (Paris, 1962) and *L'Europe gothique: XIIe–XIVe siècles* (Paris, 1968). In Italy, with its strong regional traditions, the titles of the medieval exhibitions had a different flavour: *Mostra della scultura pisana del Trecento* (Pisa, 1946–47), *Arte lombarda dai Visconti agli Sforza* (Milan, 1958) and *Valle di Susa. Arte e storia dall'XI al XVIII secolo* (Turin, 1977). The most prestigious medieval exhibition in the United States, *The Year 1200* (New York, 1970) had something curiously unreal about it. It was a glamorous transplantation of European, especially Teutonic, art history into the New World and looked like a mixture between Camelot and Disneyland. The shows of medieval art were of bewildering diversity: pious, nostalgic, magical and mystical. *Medioevo/Medioevi*, the well-chosen title of the present book, stresses this fascinating diversity.

The volume contains seven case studies and four general essays. Given the great number of medieval exhibitions – far more than fifty during the last century – a strict selection had to be made. This depended largely on the choice of competent authors and on the documentation available for the individual exhibitions. From the path-breaking show of the *Exposition des Primitifs flamands et d'art ancien* in Bruges in 1902 to *Les Fastes du Gothique* in Paris in 1981–82, a number of the most significant and spectacular exhibitions are discussed, some of them in great analytical detail. There is a certain preponderance of Italian examples, understandable in a book mainly written by Italian scholars, and the treatment of these Italian shows is often particularly detailed and sensitive. One regrets the total absence of English examples. *The Age of Chivalry: art in Plantagenet England 1200–1400* (London, 1987) was one of the most intelligent and original of medieval shows. It would also have been useful to have included a list of all the medieval exhibitions of the last century with short notices. But the interest of this stimulating collection of essays resides in the strength of its analysis; its goal was not documentary completeness.

The series of case studies begins with a sort of charming historical novel: in 1884 the *Esposizione generale italiana* in Turin included a history of art section with the telling title *Borgo e Rocca medioevali*. It was an ambitious effort to reconstruct the ambience of medieval life – its paraphernalia – recalling such publications as Viollet-le-Duc's *Dictionnaire raisonné du Mobilier Français* or his curious *Histoire d'une forteresse*. It was perhaps a medieval cultural exhibition before the rise of the medieval

Medioevo/Medioevi: Un secolo di esposizioni d'arte medievale. Edited by Enrico Castelnuovo and Alessio Monciatti. 605 pp. incl. 149 b. & w. ills. (Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa, 2008), €30. ISBN 978-88-7642-229-4.

Reviewed by WILLIBALD SAUERLÄNDER

THIS PIONEERING COLLECTION OF essays owes its inspiration to Francis Haskell's investigations and reflections on *History and its Image*. Haskell was a frequent visitor to the Scuola Normale at Pisa where Enrico Castelnuovo was the very open-minded 'cattedratico' of medieval art history. Haskell's book *The Ephemeral Museum. Old Master Paintings and the Rise of the Art Exhibitions* inspired Castelnuovo to hold a number of seminars on the increase of exhibitions of medieval art during the twentieth century, and this book is the result of a fruitful interrelationship between British art history and the Mediterranean.

Over the last 120 years an astonishing number of exhibitions of medieval art have been held in Europe as well as in the United States. The first great medieval shows opened around 1900 at the same moment that the rise of modern avant-garde art began. One may ask if it was the same shift in taste that discovered the 'Primitifs' and transformed the language of contemporary art? Perhaps. But it was after the Second World War, when a physically and

art exhibition. Paola Elena Boccalatte's essay on this show is very informative; perhaps she could have added that the picturesque reconstruction of the medieval ambience has recently gained new interest and vigour. The rise of medieval archaeology, the return of historical novels and the study of daily life, poverty, sickness and gender during the Middle Ages have affected the character of museums and exhibitions.

No greater contrast could be imagined than that between the experiment in Turin and the famous exhibition of the Flemish 'Primitifs' in Bruges in 1902. That show was a triumph of connoisseurship and critical art history and has become a landmark in the study of early Netherlandish painting, but it was also a colourful demonstration of Flemish identity. Thereafter many of the most prestigious exhibitions of medieval art have shown an irritating double face: they were the result of rigid scholarly positivism – the study of archives and sources and meticulous connoisseurship – but they revealed in the same time the irrational dreams of national or racial identities. François-René Martin's fine essay on the exhibition of the French 'Primitifs' in 1904 bears the telling title *L'administration du génie national*. This was the French response to the Flemish show. It insisted on the specifically French character of fifteenth-century French painting. The ideology behind this exhibition was not far from the ultra-nationalistic pronouncements of the '*action française*'. On the other hand, this exhibition opened the eyes of art historians and the cultivated public to the severe beauty of the French 'Primitifs' as evident in such masterpieces as the famous Avignon *Pietà*. Once again we see the two faces of medieval exhibitions: both positivistic and ideological.

Very different was the character of the *Mostra dell'antica arte senese*, which opened in the same year at Siena and found an echo in a second show held by the Burlington Fine Arts Club in London. Both exhibitions are sensitively described by Elisa Camporeale with no trace of national pride. The exhibition at Siena was in the best sense a *mostra provinciale*, while that in London reflected the aesthetical interest of English connoisseurs and collectors of Sienese art. But the London show also revealed another, more disturbing aspect of certain medieval exhibitions: their connection with the art market and with the growing sale of the Italian patrimony. 'The ephemeral museum', to return to Haskell's book, puts the great trophies of medieval art in movement, dislocates and alienates paintings and sculptures from their original settings and eventually exports them for sale. To cite a famous example from Germany: the Guelph family decided to sell the splendid 'Guelph treasury' in 1930 and sent it in all its splendour to an exhibition in America, the land of billionaires. The exhibition was held in Cleveland and was an enormous success. The local museum, one of the finest collections in the States, bought some of the most precious pieces of the treasury. So exhibitions of medieval art were far from being innocent. They could serve many ambiguous purposes: ideological, patriotic or mercantile.

A third memorable Italian exhibition, the *Mostra giottesca* of 1937 in Florence, had a very different aspect. It was a landmark in Giotto scholarship and it had an admirable but also slightly frightening character, both pure and severe. Giotto's painting had a strong appeal for the aesthetics of the *Pittura Metafisica* and more still for the 'return to order' dominating much of European art during the 1920s and 1930s. In the Fascist era Giotto was celebrated as the '*patriarca della pittura nazionale*'.

Another type of medieval exhibition discussed here could be called 'the inventory show'. It is not by chance that the most noble examples were held in France with its long-standing tradition of centralised cultural administration. Florence Moly discusses the unforgettable exhibitions of medieval illuminated manuscripts conserved in French libraries which Jean Porcher arranged in 1954 and 1955–56 in the old Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. With no ideological bias and no national glorification or patriotic pride, they served only to promote scholarship. The admirable catalogues of the illuminated manuscripts kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale were the precious fruit of these two exhibitions. Michele Tomasi contributes an essay about another Parisian inventory show, *Les Trésors des églises de France* held in 1965. This memorable exhibition was prepared by the Monuments Historiques and their *inspecteur général*, Jean Taralon. Its goal was not only to display but also to protect the forgotten treasures of the French patrimony.

The fascination, but also the difficulty of this collection of essays, is its thematic incoherence. It had to face the bewildering diversity of the exhibitions of medieval art during the ideological and political turmoil of the twentieth century. From the Middle Ages we have practically no names of artists – at least not before the trecento. There are only a few contracts, hardly any accounts, no written programme. In the study and presentation of medieval art there is plenty of space for fantasy and mystery. The exhibitions are the glittering mirrors of visions and dreams of the Middle Ages. The three final essays in this volume try to deal with this delicate problem.

Francesco Gandolfo has written a kind of apologia for the celebration in exhibitions of significant historical personalities and regrets the absence of such personality shows in Italy. It is a fine essay but, one may ask, should the cult of medieval emperors that began in Germany after the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 and inspired such splendid but disturbingly affirmative exhibitions as *Karl der Große* in 1965, *Die Staufer* in 1977 or, more recently, after the reunification of Germany, *Otto der Große* in Magdeburg (2001), really serve as a model for exhibitions in other, less imperial countries? Carlo Bertelli in his remarkable contribution '*Franchi e Langobardi nelle mostre recenti*', remembering the exhibition of Charlemagne in 1965, writes: 'These were times of victory. Today we would not conceive a similar exhibition without paying attention to the defeat of the Avars, without a certain sympathy for the Saxons, without

a regard for the question of the Lombards'. One can only agree with him. Medieval exhibitions can no longer be simply the presentation of the victors and their trophies. Among the most appealing medieval exhibitions in recent years I would cite *Krone und Schleier. Kunst aus mittelalterlichen Frauenklöstern* in Essen and Bonn in 2005¹ and *Trésors de la Peste noire: Erfurt et Colmar* at the Musée de Cluny, Paris, in 2007.² These shows presented not the gold and purple of the powerful but evoked the more secret and also the tragic aspects of medieval life as mirrored in works of art often of modest quality but of moving significance.

The volume ends with a thoughtful and sceptical essay by Adriano Peroni: 'Il Medioevo in mostra tra archeologia arti e storia: alcune considerazioni (e qualche interrogativo)'. With modesty and irony Peroni exposes the problems of the medieval exhibition, asking if it should be a documentary record or an art show. He mistrusts mega-exhibitions and condemns the recent inclusion of plaster casts and facsimiles in some blockbuster shows. He expresses his 'lazy' sympathy for small exhibitions where a few originals can be studied at leisure. '*Vox Clamantis in Deserto!*' The Luna-park exhibitions will go on. Historians, politicians, ecclesiastics and others in authority will continue to demand new medieval shows which attract large crowds. In Germany the next Staufer show is – alas – already announced! It remains the art historians' responsibility to make the best of these unavoidable spectacles, to grant at least a certain level of serious information and – above all – to protect the fragile remnants of the medieval past against the insatiable voyeurism of this show business.

This volume has opened a very necessary discussion on medieval art exhibitions, a discussion that should be continued with even greater perspicuity and critical alertness.

¹ A translation of the catalogue with additional material is reviewed on p.400 above.

² The London showing of the exhibition was reviewed by John Cherry in this Magazine, 151 (2009), pp.332–33.

European Tapestries in the Art Institute of Chicago. By Koenraad Brosens *et al.* 408 pp. incl. 140 col. + 226 b. & w. illus. (Art Institute of Chicago and Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2008), £40. ISBN 978–0–300–11960–2.

Reviewed by CANDACE J. ADELSON

AS GUY DELMARCEL notes in his foreword to this publication, over the past four decades scholars have demonstrated the far-reaching implications of tapestries for European art and history between 1350 and 1800, exploring patronage and economic and social history alongside iconology and questions of attribution. Considered 'social and symbolic capital' (p.171) far more costly than paintings, tapestries were designed by some of Europe's

greatest artists, as well as by gifted (and sometimes otherwise unknown) specialised cartoon painters (cat. nos.27 and 28). Tapestry production and distribution was also 'big business'.

As Delmarcel explains, in the past a single author of a museum catalogue would stretch across this pan-European phenomenon, but today's growing literature and the general trend towards specialisation require a collaborative approach.¹ For the Art Institute of Chicago's sumptuous catalogue, curator Christa C. Mayer Thurman selected Koenraad Brosens (Belgium) as the main author, assisted by Pascal-François Bertrand (France), Charissa Bremer-David and Elizabeth Cleland (North America) and Nello Forti Grazzini (Italy).

Mayer Thurman's chapters about the Collection's history and on tapestry weaving and Yvan Maes De Wit's explanation of the tapestries' conservation in Mechelen, Belgium, introduce the book. The catalogue proper documents eighty-six tapestries (sixty-two catalogue numbers) in fifty-three essays, each a self-contained study. The technical information supplied by the Institute's staff sets a new standard for precision of provenance information (including the owners' dates) and textile analysis (not only simple thread counts, but also strand number, spin/twist, ply and weave structure). Students of the industry's economics, supply sources, workshop methods and techniques will benefit.

Following a now well-established methodology, the extremely scholarly discussions proceed from description to narrative sources; design/cartoon sources and attribution; weaving place and workshop; other known weavings of a composition (cartoons were often woven more than once); other subjects in the relevant 'series' of designs/cartoons; and reconstruction of the original 'set'. Most of the possible variations in the composition of a set are discussed: full sets representing all the different cartoons in a series; sets from a reduced number of cartoons; augmented or 'amalgamated' sets with extra subjects added from stylistically similar cartoons (the museum's crowning glory, the exceptionally well-preserved fourteen-piece *Story of Caesar and Cleopatra* was woven in Brussels about 1680 by Gerard Peemans (Fig.49) and Willem van Leefdael from cartoons painted in the 1650s by Justus van Egmont for three different series about Cleopatra, Caesar and Zenobia and Aurelian; no.19); and disparate ensembles assembled for decorative purposes from separate sets. The results of some 'models' being repaired or modified (for a specific commission or to satisfy a change in taste) are also explained.

Each author's individual interests further enrich the analyses. Bertrand (three essays) draws on research into early French workshops (no.39) and a deep understanding of Aubusson's complex history (nos.51–52). Bremer-David's expertise of eighteenth-century Gobelins and Beauvais (five essays) shines in an analysis of how François Boucher's interaction with the theatrical manager Charles-Simon Favart influenced both a tapestry's design and Favart's productions (no.47). Cleland (five essays) explores the narrative and



49. Cleopatra and Antony enjoying supper, by the workshop of Gerard Peemans after a design by Justus van Egmont. c.1680. Wool and silk, 321.9 by 362 cm. (Art Institute of Chicago).

symbolism in early sixteenth-century Flemish tapestry. Forti Grazzini (three essays), although surprisingly not assigned the museum's Italian tapestries, demonstrates his elegant command of the field in his exploration of three *Medallion months* (nos.9 and 10) and two other sixteenth-century Brussels masterpieces (nos.11 and 13). Thurman's contribution (five essays, authored or co-authored) ranges from France to Colonial Peru (no.60). Brosens (who wrote or co-authored thirty-three essays) excels in the history of Flemish workshops through his pioneering research in Belgian archives (nos.20ff.). In his essays on the Dutch, Italian, English and French tapestries, his Flemish perspective provides some important insights (no.50), but in several cases he merely summarises scholarship and unanswered questions.

There are obviously also drawbacks to a collaborative approach. Many scholars worked from photographs and saw the tapestries only at the stately exhibition honouring the book's publication (closed 4th January 2009). The essays, therefore, rarely mention technique, weaving style and quality, or the visual effects of old restorations. Tapestry scholars have helped broaden the horizon of art history, but ironically their own least explored frontier lies in one of art history's oldest methodologies: connoisseurship. Stylistic analysis, frequently used for the attribution of cartoons (no.28), has rarely been applied to weaving styles. Digital imaging, combined with technical analyses, may help answer some of the catalogue's hesitations about attributions, production centres and individual workshops.² A challenge for all international publications is language. Tapestry scholars still use certain terms differently (*tenture* in French can refer to a 'series', an individual 'set', or even a single hanging). English-language scholars agree on most definitions, however, so it is surprising that this catalogue introduces some unusual ones. Most confusing is that the French '*suite*' is sometimes substituted for 'set', while 'set' is used as a synonym of 'series'. Translation and editing problems include the washing table's

'depression' (for 'depressurisation'; p.23ff.); captions where *laine* in French became 'linen' instead of wool (p.241); and hesitations about capitalisation ('de Pannemaker' and 'De Pannecker' appear together, while 'van' and 'Van' are also frequently mixed).

This volume is a welcome addition to a distinguished line of standard publications in the field. On a practical level, however, researchers may find it difficult to locate its new findings: although divided into broad geographical groups, the order in which the essays appear is not very logical and although hundreds of tapestries are discussed, only titles, artists and makers of the Art Institute's own pieces are indexed.

Notes on individual works follow:

no.4: *Holy Family with the Infant Christ pressing the wine of the Eucharist* (c.1500). The unusual combination of linen warps (p.54), with their vertical orientation in many – possibly all – of the closely related tapestries (extremely uncommon in contemporary Flemish weaving) suggests a common workshop or place of origin. It may support the author's hypothesis that it was woven in Spain.

no.20: from *The story of Cyrus*. A late sixteenth-century weaving of *Cyrus sends a messenger to Tomyris* from the series designed by Michiel Coxcie is in the Stibbert Museum, Florence (G. Cantelli: *Il Museo Stibbert a Firenze*, Milan 1974, II, I, p.165, no.1894; as *Allegoria della regalità*).

¹ See, for example, G. Delmarcel, P. Lüscher, N. de Reyniès and D. Weidmann: exh. cat. *Collection Toms. De fils et de couleurs. Tapisseries du XVI^e au XVIII^e siècle*, Payerne (Abbatiale et Musée de Payerne) 1997 (a full catalogue of this collection by Guy Delmarcel, Wendy Hefford and Nicole de Reyniès is expected in 2009); T. Campbell, ed.: exh. cat. *Tapestry in the Renaissance. Art and Magnificence*, New York (Metropolitan Museum of Art) 2002; and *idem*, ed.: exh. cat. *Tapestry in the Baroque. Threads of Splendor*, New York (Metropolitan Museum of Art) 2007.

² See, for instance, C.J. Adelson: 'A Bruges "Millefleurs" Tapestry Fragment Possibly Woven by Antoon Segon', *Porticus* 14–17 (1991–94), pp.10–14.

Fra Angelico. By Diane Cole Ahl. 240 pp. incl. 150 col. + 25 b. & w. ills. (Phaidon, London and New York, 2008), £24.95. ISBN 978-0-7148-4830-3.

Reviewed by LAURENCE KANTER

THE LATEST ENTRY in the quarter-century long cascade of publications dedicated to the artist known to his contemporaries as Fra Giovanni da Fiesole is a book-length study by Diane Cole Ahl written for Phaidon Press, part of that house's newest effort to revive its original reputation for excellence in the narrowly defined field of artists' monographs. Ahl's work is the fruit of many years' research, dating back to her dissertation on the artist at the University of Virginia in 1977, but her book is surely intended less for an informed scholarly audience than for an uncritical popular one. Many of the opinions expressed here have survived unchanged over thirty years; others have

been reformulated in the light of recent studies and new discoveries. It is impossible, however, without conducting extensive additional research, for even the most assiduous reader to distinguish between these two categories, or between the author's opinion and generally held beliefs, or even between traditional assumptions and documented historical fact. The text is not explicit on such points; it is not footnoted and the narrative tone is casual, skirting wherever possible inconvenient reminders of how little we actually know, or can know, about Fra Angelico. This approach is likely to have been dictated to the author by her publisher: it can hardly be a coincidence that Phaidon's other recent foray into the market for old-master artistic monographs, Bette Talvecchia's *Raphael* (2007), is identical in design, boasts the same number of pages, is divided into the same number of chapters following roughly the same schema, and concludes with a variety of back-matter apparatus (including short biographies and a glossary for enthusiasts unaccustomed to reading about Italian Renaissance art) again nearly identical in type and sequence.

What might seem an awkward straitjacket to some authors does not appear to have caused Ahl serious discomfort. Some of the best writing in her very well-written book is to be found in her first chapter ('Magnificence and Splendour, Poverty and War') and her eighth ('Afterlife'), in which she nimbly summarises the history of Florence in the opening years of the fifteenth century as a context for Fra Angelico's career, and the historiographic legacy of the artist, primarily in literature, from the fifteenth through the nineteenth centuries. These overviews condense the welter of miscellaneous information other writers have brought to bear on these topics and translate it with finely balanced judgment into 'user-friendly' form for the modern general-interest reader. The other great strength of this monograph is Ahl's care in elaborating the devotional content and significance of each painting by Fra Angelico that she discusses. An inalienable aspect of Angelico's work – both the impetus for its conception and a key to explaining its distinction – is its religious meaning. This is not always easily comprehensible to the modern lay reader, and scholars ignore or short-change the issue (this reviewer is guilty of the oversight himself) at their peril. The excursions offered here are models of concision, neither too detailed nor patronisingly summary.

The most troubling aspect of *Fra Angelico* is its self-imposed limitations. The author states in her introduction (p.11), 'I have chosen to focus primarily on the works with certain provenance [...] I believe that speculations on attribution and dating may be less important than appreciating the history, meaning and extraordinary beauty of the images themselves'. So artificial a restriction – exploiting the dichotomy between 'certain' and 'speculation' – belies the scope and conventional purpose of a monograph, although it does permit Ahl to focus on what she does best. While this is perhaps reasonable, it leaves, among other things, a misleading impression that Angelico, unlike

any other Renaissance master, did not produce small-scale works for private use except at the very outset of his career: the selection of paintings of this type included at the beginning of the narrative (figs.22, 32 and 51) is, of course, welcome though very small and frankly arbitrary. Furthermore, the added value to patronage studies supplied by the filter of using only or mostly works of known provenance inevitably leads to the misconception that these works are better documented than other works by the artist, and creates the false impression that the six chapters dedicated to a chronological survey of Angelico's career are therefore based on well-grounded and dependable information. They are not.

No surviving work by Angelico, excepting only the vault frescos in the Cappella di S. Brizio in Orvieto Cathedral, is so well documented as to leave no room for speculation as to its date. The St Peter Martyr triptych (Museo di S. Marco, Florence; fig.45) is, as its caption here claims, documented in 1429, but only in the sense of being first mentioned in that year; it was clearly painted considerably earlier than that, but how much earlier we do not know. The Santa Croce altarpiece (Museo di S. Marco; fig.48) is not documented in 1429 as claimed here. It is thought to be – not known to be – a painting referred to in that year, but the reference (a plea to be excused from taxes) states only that the patrons need to reserve funds for an altarpiece without stipulating whether the altarpiece in question was already finished, in hand or merely contemplated. The S. Maria degli Angeli *Last Judgment* (Museo di S. Marco; fig.57) was once thought to be a documented work of 1431. That claim has long been debunked, but here it appears as a work of 1431, with a modest disclaimer of *circa* added to the photo caption. The Linauoli tabernacle (Museo di S. Marco; figs.63 and 64) is not a documented work of 1433. Its frame and massive panel support (a noteworthy feat of engineering in its own right) were commissioned from the studio of Lorenzo Ghiberti in that year and the completed work appears to have been installed in 1436. That is a span of four years, and four years can mark a radical change in the career of an artist as gifted and restless as Fra Angelico.

It is precisely because Angelico was so gifted and of so restless an intellect that speculation about the progress of his career is crucial, and it is therefore ironic that speculation abounds in this book, although it is disguised as established historical fact. On what grounds can it be claimed that the tentative, exploratory one-point perspective employed in the predella to the Prado *Annunciation* altarpiece (fig.38), here dated c.1425–27, immediately precedes, perhaps by less than a year, the astonishing mastery of two-point perspectival effects achieved in the predella to the Louvre *Coronation of the Virgin* altarpiece (fig.39), here dated c.1427–29? Assigning a date of c.1435 to the Annalena altarpiece (Museo di S. Marco; fig.67) is pure speculation (and perhaps incorrect by nearly two decades); the fact that it is another scholar's guesswork rather than Ahl's does not vet

it as dependable. It is only speculation that the Princeton *St Jerome* (fig.36) should be dated 1424; the coats of arms suggesting such a date were demonstrably added to it sometime after the painting was completed. Similarly, Ahl accepts speculation that the four reliquaries from S. Maria Novella (Museo di S. Marco and Gardner Museum, Boston) were painted in 1424, when their reputed patron, Fra Giovanni Masi, was sacristan of that church. But is it really possible that the awkward, stocky *St Jerome* in Princeton could have been painted at the same time as the gracile, exiguous figures in the *Adoration of the Magi* reliquary (fig.43)? Not a hint of doubt accompanies any of the texts discussing these and other works. What student reading this book would not believe that they represent firmly fixed points in Angelico's œuvre? Surely a bit more cogent speculation – clearly flagged as such – on matters like these is urgently necessary to avoid the impression of erratic swings of style that has long dogged the study of Fra Angelico, confounding efforts to make sense of his development and denying him the recognition he so richly deserves not only as the most inspired sacred imagist of his time, but also as one of the most sophisticated pictorial geniuses of all time.

English Embroidery from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1580–1700: 'Twixt Art and Nature'. Edited by Andrew Morrall and Melinda Watt; with essays by Cristina Ballofeet Carr, Ruth Geuter, Susan North and Kathleen Staples. 256 pp. incl. 248 col. + 12 b. & w. ills. (Yale University Press in association with Bard Graduate Center for Studies in the Decorative Arts and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New Haven and London, 2008), £40. ISBN 978-0-300-12967-0.

Reviewed by LISA MONNAS

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART is fortunate to have numbered among its patrons Irwin Untermyer (1886–1973), whose superlative collection of English late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century embroideries forms the core of a major exhibition held in the Bard Graduate Center for the Decorative Arts in New York (closed 12th April 2009). The embroideries in the exhibition, which included an interesting group of samplers, ranged from the restrained, monochrome elegance of blackwork to the exuberance of three-dimensional polychrome embroideries on satin and offered almost a masterclass in techniques. Although many of these, including the use of pearls, sequins, appliquéd padding, can all be found in medieval embroidery, these later examples are distinguished by their sheer inventiveness and technical virtuosity in combining an unprecedented range of fancy stitches with materials, including coral, feathers, mica and shells, to

produce embroideries of outstandingly rich texture. Cristina Ballofeet Carr has provided an invaluable discussion of techniques, and there is a useful glossary.

The inclusion in the exhibition of dress accessories – nightcaps, coifs, forehead cloths, gloves and purses – with just one jacket reflects the fact that few whole garments survive. In her essay on dress, Susan North draws attention to the fact that English embroidered court dress is now known only from portraits and documentary sources, and that the beautiful linen jacket embroidered in gold and coloured silks (cat. no.31; Fig.50) represents the formal clothing of the gentry, rather than the aristocracy. The loss can partly be explained by the fact that valuable embroidered clothing was normally recycled or given away or else was regarded as a form of currency to be sold or pawned. For example, Philip Henslowe (c.1555–1616), who combined the professions of theatre manager and pawnbroker, simply added unredeemed stock to his own theatrical wardrobe. With the exception of some valances and a fragment of a large table carpet, the furnishings in the exhibition were mainly small objects such as mirrors and beadwork baskets, with some cushion covers. One of the show's glories was a series of exquisite caskets, or 'cabinets', with figurative embroidered panels. Judging by their good state of preservation, it is likely that these delicate items were always prized for their intricate workmanship and, like the books with ornamental covers and expensive, decorative gloves, used only with great care.

Dealing with an age when aristocrats and gentlewomen were accomplished needlewomen, Kathleen Staples explores the difficulty of distinguishing between amateur and professional work. A cabinet embroidered by Hannah Smith when aged between eleven and thirteen years (not exhibited; figs.2–4) displays a precocious amateur talent, while another with *Scenes from the life of Joseph* (no.67) is likely to be a mature professional work. Unless documented, like the 'Hannah Smith' casket, it is the workmanship of the embroidery that gives a clue rather than the design, as embroiderers generally employed specialist draughtsmen for their patterns. They, in turn, often relied on prints as a source for their compositions. They sometimes accurately copied motifs in a convincing perspectival setting as in the case of no.59, a mid-seventeenth-century panel of the *Sacrifice of Isaac*. In other cases, figures inhabit landscapes whimsically scattered with out-of-scale beasts, insects and flowers (compare fig.58 with figs.58a and b, *Scenes from the life of Abraham*).

The interpretation of a printed source is at its most subtle in the miniature portrait of Charles I worked in fine split stitch and couched metal thread, based on a print by Wenceslaus Hollar, ultimately derived from a Van Dyck portrait of Charles I and Henrietta Maria (no.4). Another unmistakeably professional item, but very different in style, is the velvet burse for the Great Seal of George I, c.1714–27, displaying the royal coat of arms framed by cherubim (no.15). A superb



50. Woman's jacket. English, c.1616. Linen with silk and metal thread, spangles and metal bobbin lace. (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).

example of a long-lived type of official embroidery, the burse is positively encrusted with couched and padded decoration, worked in several textures of silk and metal thread, with additional pearls, garnets and coral.

An emphasis on the monarchy, discernible not only in commemorative embroidered portraits but also in the choice of biblical subjects illustrating models of royal behaviour, is made all the more obvious by representing figures in contemporary dress, depicting characters such as Solomon as James II in his coronation robes (not exhibited; fig.4.10). With the exception of embroideries referring directly to the plight of Charles I (not exhibited; fig.4.8), the superficial impression of the narrative panels in the exhibition, representing courtly figures in idyllic landscapes, belied the fact that many were created at times of severe political discord. This could be viewed as escapism at its most beguiling. Yet at a time when 'the bible was central to all intellectual and moral life', even these attractive scenes were infused with a didactic purpose. Ruth Geuter interprets the prominence of biblical subjects for embroidery in the context of the political upheavals and social changes of the seventeenth century. She explores the prevailing taste for Old Testament heroines, particularly Esther, as models of feminine virtue, and demonstrates how their virtuous behaviour was linked in contemporary literature with the art of embroidery itself.

Andrew Morrall, discussing representations of Nature in embroidery, explores themes such as the centrality of Eden as a model of ideal Nature, and of pre-lapsarian Adam and Eve as the perfect husband and wife, as well as the rise of pastoral themes. Although the extent to which plants were included for their traditional symbolic meanings is uncertain, a growing interest in gardening and the availability of printed herbals and botanicals allowed an inherited typology of plants to be presented with increasing accuracy, and the embroiderers' sheer delight in representing the beauty of nature was evident throughout the exhibition. This superbly illustrated, scholarly catalogue will provide food for thought – and enjoyment – for years to come.

Medici Gardens: from Making to Design.

By Raffaella Fabiani Giannetto. 306 pp. incl. 54 b. & w. ills. (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2008), £36. ISBN 978-0-8122-4072-6.

A History of the Gardens of Versailles.

By Michel Baridon, transl. by Adrienne Mason. 285 pp. incl. 50 b. & w. ills. (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2008), £36. ISBN 978-0-8122-4078-8.

Reviewed by TODD LONGSTAFFE-GOWAN

THESE TWO VOLUMES are further offerings from the Penn Studies in Landscape Architecture series which is dedicated to the study and promotion of a broad range of approaches to landscape architecture, with special emphasis on connections between theory and practice. Both books have their origins in quattrocento Florence and the Medici: Raffaella Fabiani Giannetto's *Medici Gardens* examines the early Renaissance gardens of Trebbio, Cafaggiolo, Careggi and Fiesole, with a view to charting their evolution from modest subsistence gardens (*orti*) to pleasure grounds (*giardini*), or enclosed places 'where flowers, trees, etc. are cultivated for pleasure and not for profit'; and Michel Baridon's *A History of the Gardens of Versailles* reminds us that this most illustrious of French royal gardens, which epitomises 'Classical France, as the monarchy sought to define it', also owes a considerable debt to the Medici, and to Henry II's wife, Catherine de' Medici, in particular – the great-great granddaughter of Cosimo de' Medici the Elder, who initiated the landscape improvements at the family estates on the outskirts of Florence.

Giannetto's book throws new light on the origins of a clutch of the most celebrated of the Medici *orti suburbani*. Using new evidence and re-examining known sources, she proposes that these gardens were the product of oral traditions and practical know-how rather than theoretical meditations – that Trebbio, Cafaggiolo, Careggi and Fiesole were only perceived as 'works of art' after the fact, and that the Medicis' early motivations for garden building were possibly more intuitive than they were artfully contrived. The author also affirms that what we now generally refer to as the *giardino all'italiana* is not based upon an informed understanding of these early gardens but on a misinterpretation of the evidence. While this may be true, it is also important that we appreciate that the embroidery of these gardens by subsequent generations of landscape-improvers has spawned a rich legacy of fanciful imitations, and invested the gardens – both the originals and derivatives – with new meanings. As Giannetto herself illustrates, in the 1930s the Medici gardens were appropriated by the Italian Fascists to legitimise their political authority and to strengthen their image of the country's national identity: the Medici 'made the greatest contribution to the art of the garden', so their villa gardens were in turn promoted as powerful symbols of the enlightenment of Renaissance Italy.

A History of the Gardens of Versailles (first published as *Histoire des jardins de Versailles*, 2003) is a fascinating and original account of the most palpable and lasting monument to Louis XIV. Although the work examines the whole of the garden's history, it focuses primarily on the period of its most active and innovative evolution. We are told how the king in his role of 'God's lieutenant' mobilised the resources of his nation to transform 'the most gloomy and unrewarding place of all' with 'no view, no woodland, no water, and no soil' into the princely 'envelope' we know today. The gardens were intended to display the king's mastery over nature, to project an image of good government and to create and nurture the image of a powerful, prosperous and attractive monarchy. The achievement of Versailles must, of course, be shared with the king's loyal foot soldiers – most notably, his indispensable adviser and respected mentor, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, his inspired gardener André Le Nôtre, and a vast entourage of geometers, hydraulic engineers, mathematicians and astronomers, all of whom were encouraged to devise ever more ingenious means of enhancing the impression of the magnificence, power, wealth and grandeur of the sovereign.

What comes across clearly in Baridon's book is just how much Louis XIV, who revelled in the outdoor life, was involved in the minutiae of the development of his demesne – from its complex iconographical programme to its day-to-day use, which was meticulously set out in his famous guide to the gardens, *Manière de visiter les jardins de Versailles*.

Given the potent associations of the royal gardens and the château with the tyranny of political absolutism, and the sometimes tumultuous vicissitudes of the past three centuries, it will doubtless strike some readers of this book that it is nothing short of a miracle that gardens have survived at all. Baridon's elegant narrative, however, serves to remind us that France has never completely shaken off its love for strong centralised power – a force whose expression of outward magnificence was first inspired by the Medici.

French furniture and gilt bronzes, Baroque and Régence, Catalogue of the J. Paul Getty Museum collection. By Gillian Wilson *et al.* 464 pp. incl. 105 col. + 432 b. & w. ills. (J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 2008), £80. ISBN 978-0-89236-874-7.

Reviewed by REINIER BAARSEN

THE COLLECTION OF French decorative arts of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries at the J. Paul Getty Museum is the most important of its kind formed for any public institution during the last decades of the twentieth century and now stands as one of the foremost assemblages in this field to be seen anywhere. Enthusiastically begun by J.



51. Cabinet on stand, attributed to André-Charles Boulle. c.1675–80. Oak veneered with ebony, pewter, tortoiseshell, brass, ivory, horn and various woods; drawers of snake wood; painted and gilded wood figures; and gilt-bronze mounts, 230 by 151 by 67 cm. (J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles).

Paul Getty himself, it is nonetheless largely the work of Gillian Wilson, curator of decorative arts at the Museum from 1971 to 2003, who, with boundless energy and great discernment, acquired hundreds of beautiful objects which together splendidly represent the ornamental arts of the *ancien régime*. The remarkable personal qualities needed for such a long-ranging enterprise would not necessarily seem compatible with those required for the patient study and documentation of a collection, but Wilson has from the start also taken on this task. Full notes on the main acquisitions were published each year in the *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*, which unfortunately ceased to appear after 1996. These notes were partly written by the assistant curators, Charissa Bremer-David and Jeffrey Weaver, who have also contributed to the present catalogue.

Wilson's admirable zeal has now born fruit in this catalogue, which is the first of a projected series of three describing the furniture and gilt bronzes, her chosen field. It has been preceded by two volumes dealing with related material, *Mounted oriental porcelain* of 1982 (revised edition 1999) and *European clocks* of 1996, both co-written by Wilson. These set the standards that are further expanded in the new catalogue: each work is painstakingly described, illustrated in great detail in many splendid photographs and carefully assessed in an extensive commentary.

The catalogue consists of forty-four entries which describe veneered and carved furniture, gilt-bronze objects such as chandeliers and firedogs, and hardstone vases. The work of André-Charles Boulle, the presiding genius of furniture-making of the period, is particularly well represented, with twelve entries devoted to items by or attributed to him.

These include such famous masterpieces as the floral marquetry cabinet on a stand from the collection of the Earls of Dudley (no.3; Fig.51), two similarly decorated tables (nos.10 and 11), the two coffers on stands with brass and tortoiseshell marquetry from the Demidoff collection (no.4) and the medal cabinet from Houghton (no.5), as well as distinguished examples of types found somewhat more commonly, such as a writing table, a pair of torchères, a chandelier and a pair of wall-lights. As several other objects are more or less closely connected with Boulle's production, a large part of the catalogue represents an important contribution to the study of the work and influence of this prince of ébénistes.

In comparison with the small body of earlier catalogues of similar scope describing collections of French furniture, such as those at Waddesdon Manor or the Wallace Collection, London, the great leap forward of the present one consists in the very detailed technical descriptions that form part of each entry. The materials used are analysed, the construction is described and any evidence of later alterations, additions or restorations is ruthlessly brought to light. The arguments, which can be highly involved, are elucidated with schematic drawings, diagrams, X-radiographs and the like, accompanied by short, helpful captions. It is a courageous decision to include these descriptions, especially as the catalogue deals with a collection that has been so recently formed. Each work of art has been through the trade within living memory and, furthermore, the Museum has in the past entrusted the conservation or restoration of many new acquisitions to outside specialists, whose work does not always find favour with the present commentators. Veneered furniture is notoriously prone to alterations, embellishments or radical restoration, and many of the more elaborate pieces are shown to have undergone significant changes.

Inevitably, the findings presented in the technical descriptions have their bearing on the opinions and assessments put forward in the commentaries. As every student of furniture knows, it is a daunting challenge to try to fully co-ordinate the two, and this has not in every instance been satisfactorily met. Several technical descriptions point out changes or additions that are not taken into account in the commentaries. For example, when the cabinet attributed to Boulle shown here in Fig.51 was acquired by the Museum, the controversial decision was taken to remove the bronze-coloured paint from the supporting figures in order to reveal the white layer that was thought to be their original finish. It is now suggested that this layer was preparatory to the application of a finish that probably looked like patinated bronze; there is even an illustration of a simulation of the stand's original appearance (fig.3-mm). However, the commentary still puts forward the suggestion that the figures were first covered with brown paint during the first half of the nineteenth century. Conversely, the suggestion made in the commentary that the stand of

one of the Boulle coffers (no.4) has been raised at a later date is not borne out by the technical description. Concerning the simple cupboard of around 1720 (no.6), the technical description suggests that it has been partly re veneered and demonstrates that the handles of the interior drawers may be replacements; there is no mention of this in the commentary, and the same is true of replaced or added mounts on other pieces of furniture, such as the tables catalogued under nos.9 and 15. There is a general sense that the commentaries record insights that, by their very nature, have evolved over years of study and reflection, whereas the technical descriptions are the result of recent physical examination, carried out with the most innovative methods of research and the use of newly perfected equipment. In an ideal world, these technical findings would inform every historical assessment (and vice versa), but by reason of the very different gestation pace of the two this is almost impossible to achieve. Taken as a whole, the catalogue does not purport to be the last word on the works of art described, but by presenting in exemplary fashion all available knowledge it invites further study.

The J. Paul Getty Museum and the authors are to be congratulated on a sumptuous catalogue of a magnificent collection, a splendid contribution to the literature on French furniture. The next two volumes, on Rococo and Neo-classical furniture, are eagerly anticipated.

The Ewers-Tyne Collection of Worcester Porcelain at Cheekwood. By John Sandon, with a foreword and historical essay by Henry Sandon. 223 pp. incl. 204 col. + 12 b. & w. illus. (Antique Collectors' Club, Woodbridge, 2008), £35. ISBN 978-1-85149-558-0.

Reviewed by JULIA POOLE

CHEEKWOOD, A GEORGIAN-style mansion at Nashville, Tennessee, was built for Leslie and Mabel Cheek by the New York architect Bryant Fleming, and was completed in 1932. The house and its extensive garden were donated to the city by their daughter, Hulda, and her husband, Walter Sharp, and opened to the public in 1960. Today Worcester porcelain is one of Cheekwood's chief attractions. Comprising about 350 pieces, the collection has been enlarged since the 1970s, initially through the generosity and enthusiasm of Dr and Mrs E. William Ewers and the late Harriet Tyne, who enlisted support for the project from other Nashvillians. They were also largely responsible for funding the beautifully illustrated catalogue here under review, which is unusual in encompassing porcelain from most of the Worcester factories.

Henry Sandon's short history of porcelain production in Worcester is followed by 139

entries including some three hundred pieces of porcelain and a few of earthenware made between about 1750 and 1940. They are divided into five groups each prefaced by a short essay: Lund's Bristol and early Worcester blue-and-white, and coloured, enamelled and printed wares up to the late 1780s; the richly decorated porcelain made during the ownership of the Flight and Barr families ending in 1840; the contemporary wares of Chamberlain's and Grainger's factories; and finally the products of the Worcester Royal Porcelain Company, which are more thinly represented, and mainly ornamental. It would be difficult to improve on John Sandon's catalogue entries, except occasionally in the identification of monograms and topographical prints. His practical knowledge of the processes of porcelain manufacture and the commercial considerations which affected it are particularly illuminating when he assesses the later nineteenth and early twentieth-century examples. His approach is enthusiastic, and he is always sensitive to the best qualities of an object.

The first two groups include some charming examples of the types of decoration which distinguish early Worcester, such as Chinese and chinoiserie patterns, Kakiemons, fables and exquisitely painted landscapes, flowers and exotic birds (Fig.52). Among them are some rare items, such as a wine funnel with decorated underglaze in blue; a pair of Turks, which were among the few models produced by the factory around 1770; and a transfer-printed mug unusually in red with the figures of Shakespeare, Comedy and Tragedy.

Armorials occur frequently in the decoration of Worcester, and are an indication of the role of porcelain as a status symbol. The early wares at Cheekwood include several examples, but the most ostentatious date from the Flight and later periods, notably the arms of George III on a jug c.1805–10 and of the 2nd Marquess of Buckingham on a tureen from a service with a salmon ground and sumptuous gilding, commissioned in 1813 from Flight, Barr & Barr for Stowe. An amusing imaginary coat of arms celebrating the drinking of punch appears on one side of a two-handled mug, one of three commissioned from Chamberlain's in 1809 by Charles Hill, a former undergraduate of Jesus College, Cambridge, which is depicted on the other side.

Worcester decoration was at its most opulent during the last decade of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Both the original factory and Chamberlain's employed talented painters, whose superb miniatures of picturesque views, portraits, flora and fauna were usually reserved in marbled or richly coloured and gilded grounds. Cheekwood has several fine examples, of which a Barr, Flight & Barr 'Etruscan' vase with *trompe l'œil* seashells in its main reserve is of exceptional quality. An extensive Barr, Flight & Barr dinner service and a Chamberlain tea set illustrate the enduring taste for vividly coloured patterns derived from Chinese or Japanese Imari porcelains.



52. Dessert plate, decorated by the Giles workshop. c.1768–70. Worcester porcelain, 19.6 cm. diameter. (Ewers-Tyne Collection, Cheekwood Museum of Art, Nashville TN).

The 1840s, when the original Worcester and Chamberlain's factories merged, were unexciting, but in the 1850s the factory's fortunes picked up under the directorship of W.H. Kerr and R.W. Binns. The introduction of a Parian body and various surface treatments enabled the factory to make wares in revival and exotic styles, delighting critics and customers with products which were not what they seemed. An 'Ivory Porcelain' spill vase with a bronzed base imitating a Japanese ivory brush pot, and James Hadley's figure of an Eastern water carrier with 'ivory' body and costume bronzed and gilded by the 'Patent Metallic' process are beautifully crafted and imaginative examples of this genre. Reticulation, a speciality of Grainger's, is illustrated by a pair of white and gold vases c.1885–90, intricately pierced with a design derived from Mughal ornament.

The depiction of nature was the forte of several Worcester painters in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A pair of elegant vases decorated with swans and swallows by Charley Baldwyn in 1898 and a posy vase of 1929 with a pheasant in a landscape by James Stinton are characteristic examples. Such porcelain is highly collectable today, but Sandon suggests that its decoration should be viewed as fine craftsmanship rather than art because of its formulaic character and the repetitive nature of factory work. On the other hand he praises Dorothy Doughty's series of more than seventy American birds as 'arguably Royal Worcester's greatest achievement in the twentieth century'. Cheekwood has most of the models, of which one pair is discussed, *Mockingbirds on peach blossom* of 1940. Doughty sketched and modelled her birds as 'portraits of living birds and flowers', and managing to reproduce them correctly in every detail was a considerable technical achievement. The birds are highly realistic models rather than artistic impressions, and might be regarded as three-dimensional equivalents of the illustrations to George Edwards's *A Natural History of Uncommon Birds* (1743–51).

Publications Received

Reconstructing the Renaissance: 'Saint James Freeing Hermogenes' by Fra Angelico. By Laurence Kanter. 76 pp. incl. 57 col. + 3 b. & w. illus. (Kimbrell Art Museum, Fort Worth, and Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2008), £10.99. ISBN 978-0-300-12136-0.

Five predella panels by Fra Angelico, the last of which only resurfaced in 2000, were reunited in the exhibition devoted to the artist held in 2005 at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. One of them, *St James freeing Hermogenes*, was acquired in 1986 by the Kimbrell Art Museum; earlier it had belonged to Lucien Bonaparte, Prince of Canino, and failed to find a buyer at the sale of his collection in London in 1815. In this publication, which was marked by an exhibition at Fort Worth (closed February 2009), Laurence Kanter discusses the painting's iconography and refines his earlier reconstruction on the basis of a technical examination of the supports. Accepting Longhi's dating of c.1427–29, Kanter rejects an earlier hypothesis that connected the panels to Angelico's Pontassieve Madonna (Uffizi). He floats two new suggestions as to its original location: either the church of S. Jacopo in Campo Corbolini, where the Compagnia di S. Maria del Giglio met and which was also the seat of the Knights of Malta, dedicated to St John the Baptist (the *Naming of St John the Baptist* in the Museo di S. Marco, Florence, belonged to the same predella), or the Dominican convent at S. Miniato al Tedesco, dedicated to Sts James and Lucy, both of whom appear in the panels.

J.T.M.

Decorative arts

The clothing of the Renaissance world: Europe, Asia, Africa, the Americas: Cesare Vecellio's 'Habiti antichi et moderni'. By Margaret F. Rosenthal and Ann Rosalind Jones. 560 pp. incl. 77 col. + 463 b. & w. illus. (Thames & Hudson, London, 2008), £48. ISBN 978-0-500-514269.

When the painter Cesare Vecellio's *Habiti antichi et moderni* was published in Venice in 1590 he declared he would reveal 'the clothing of diverse nations, which I have assembled and explained' (p.50). Building on the vogue for captioned images of current fashions found in printed costume books and manuscript *alba amicorum*, Vecellio's book promised a new historical survey of dress with textual annotations. Its expressive, lively woodcuts, executed by the German printmaker Christoph Chrieger, claimed to show garments worn in ancient and medieval Rome, contemporary Europe (particularly Venice) and the known world. Each figure was described in terms of its social, geographical, economic and political identity, thus extending the scope of the book well beyond *habiti*. The result was successful enough to merit an enlarged edition in 1598, with new illustrations and Latin texts, intended to appeal to a wider European readership. Inigo Jones probably used the *Habiti* to inspire his designs for masque costumes for the English court.

Margaret Rosenthal and Ann Jones are to be thanked for this beautiful volume which provides for the first time an English translation of Vecellio's text of 1590 (with some additions from the 1598 edition) and, using the original layout, incorporates facsimiles of the woodcuts. The illustrated introduction succinctly establishes Vecellio's background, Venetian context and sources, the print production and the book's intended readership, and provides a critical reading of his presentation of women and the New World. A themed bibliography, endnotes, index and an extensive glossary of dress and textile terms (usefully illustrated in colour with contemporary paintings), invite and aid further research.

Costume books, like maps, 'appealed to curiosity about countries and continents' (p.16): they were one way of trying to understand the world as it was encountered through trade and exploration in the period. While Vecellio frequently mentions his sources –

sketches from friends, sculpture, books – he also acknowledges that geographical distances and vicissitudes of fashion frustrate his intentions. His book is not so much an accurate snapshot of historical and late sixteenth-century dress as a survey of its various possible interpretations, both for Vecellio and his first audiences, and merits attention not only from historians of dress but also from those interested in the histories of painting, print, topography, consumption and travel.

CLARE BACKHOUSE

Geometry and the Silversmith. The Domcha Collection. By Christopher Hartop. 128 pp. incl. 10 col. + 110 b. & w. illus. (John Adamson, Cambridge, 2008), £25. ISBN 978-0-9524322-8-9.

By going into print a collector holds up his acquisitions for critical acclaim – but collecting is a very personal pursuit and it is often hard for anyone else to empathise with the thinking behind acquisitions and get under the skin of a collection. Here the rapport between owner and unadorned silver is obvious, but the title of the book (it is a good title) poses a dilemma. Did the owner, who has an eye for simplicity and clear outline, set out to make a collection that demonstrates geometry – or was the author, Christopher Hartop, seeking a new way to interpret objects from a period that has traditionally appealed to collectors of silver? Each reader will make a judgment as to whether the bulk of this collection (for there are a few blips outside the purity of its central theme) stands up to scrutiny as an exercise in geometry.

Modest items portray best the eye for line that underpins these pages: a wine bottle stand of 1733/34 beside a funnel by Simon Pantin; a saucepan from the kitchens of the Duke of Montagu; a lovely beer jug of 1721/22 by Thomas Farren; a tankard of 1632/33; a sensitively grouped illustration of sugar tongs, apple corer and marrow scoop. Bearing in mind what has been available on the market in the past twenty-five years, there are some curious omissions: nothing, for example, from the holdings of George Booth of Dunham Massey and little from the last decades of the eighteenth century.

Will the owner refine and develop the collection, perhaps taking it beyond its prescribed period? It would be fascinating to further the theme of geometry into later times, to introduce the work of Puiforcat or Marianne Brandt, of Michael Rowe and Simone ten Hompel, for example, and see how they compare. However, the appeal of silver for this collector may not lie in geometry after all, but in the colour and patina that silver of his chosen period and style has taken on over time. Many others have been similarly seduced.

This is an elegant book, generously laid out, with good glossaries. The style of photography and font (Gill sans light) support its theme of 'design'. Hartop's excellent introduction unusually focuses on the understanding of geometry that would have been central to the training of a silversmith and the education of his patrons. It is a novel approach for writers on silver, one that demonstrates the wide-ranging knowledge of the author and just how far the study of silver has developed. The book is worth buying just for this essay. The theme is not pursued into the listing of 107 objects – perhaps a missed opportunity, for the book might have been greatly enhanced by section drawings demonstrating the geometry of even two or three objects, and surprisingly only one photograph focuses on the detail of a piece. Instead, the text to each entry contains much excellent detail on the personalities, dining habits, fashions, silversmiths and finances of the time, easily and informatively written.

VANESSA BRETT

Les Wedgwood; de la poterie à l'industrie des arts de la table. By Laurence Machet. 360 pp. incl. 38 col. illus. (Editions du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, Paris, 2008), €40. ISBN 978-2-7355-0670-5.

Laurence Machet teaches at the Université Michel de Montaigne Bordeaux III in the department of

studies on anglophone countries. This book, published by the revered Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, which specialises in the publication of university research and text books, appears to be her first. More recently she has been researching the life and work of Tom Wedgwood (1771–1805), a pioneer of photography. Despite its title, 248 of a total of 306 pages of text are devoted to the life and work of the first Josiah Wedgwood (1730–95), prefaced by a detailed and fascinating description of the differences between the history and structures of English and French society in the late seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries.

Machet deals with the career of Josiah Wedgwood from a number of angles, starting with his wife, Sarah, whom she presents as a strong and lasting influence on his work. In a most interesting section she discusses his policies for controlling his labour force. This was a craft industry for which it was essential that his employees be properly trained and thereafter be unwilling to move elsewhere. This he achieved by paying wages that were a little in advance of those of other potters. (This continued to be a policy of the firm well into the later twentieth century.) Other sections deal with his eleven-year partnership with Thomas Bentley, with technological improvements and with his marketing skills. There are a few mistakes. At one point she appears to believe that the white relief portions of Jasper portrait medallions could on occasions be made not of ceramic material but of wax. Odd mistakes, however, do not prevent this section of the book from being a thorough account of the life and method of a great eighteenth-century entrepreneur and a useful and enlightening textbook for francophone students.

The final fifty-eight pages, however, show a sharp falling off and the book suffers much from their inclusion. She has a low opinion of the second and third generation of Wedgwoods. This is unfair. Their hearts may not have been in the business but this was balanced by their strong sense of duty. Although the palm of leadership in the industry had passed to the MINTONS, Francis Wedgwood, sole proprietor in the middle of the nineteenth century, handed a well-run company on to his sons. In the mid-twentieth century the company once again took the lead under the fifth Josiah, but the sole feature of this period that Machet discusses is the move from Etruria to Barlaston. There is no mention of the technological innovations of Norman Wilson, nor the revolution of design policy under Victor Skellern, nor the development of the Wedgwood Rooms within shops.

The book suffers from a serious shortcoming: there are not enough illustrations. Out of thirty-five items of manufacture shown twenty-four are of ornamental and prestige pieces and only eleven of 'useful' pieces. The reader, whom we can assume is French, will learn much about Josiah Wedgwood from this book, but in the end will still have no clear view of the range of his production, and an impression of the products of subsequent years which is actually misleading.

MARTIN WEDGWOOD

Splendor and Elegance. European Decorative Arts and Drawings from the Horace Wood Brock Collection. Essays by Horace Wood Brock, Martin P. Levy and Clifford S. Ackley. 160 pp. incl. 162 col. + 3 b. & w. illus. (MFA Publications, Boston, 2009), \$55. ISBN 978-0-87846-738-9.

1900 – The Year of Art Nouveau. Paris – Copenhagen/Copenhagen – Paris. By Charlotte Christensen. 368 pp. incl. 191 col. + 69 b. & w. illus. (Danish Museum of Art & Design, Copenhagen, 2008), DKK 225. ISBN 978-87-87075-79-4.

Pioneers of Contemporary Glass. Highlights from the Barbara and Dennis DuBois Collection. By Cindi Strauss with Rebecca Elliot and Susie J. Silbert. 96 pp. incl. 33 col. illus. (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2009), £12.99. ISBN 978-0-300-14695-0.

Exhibitions

Shah 'Abbas

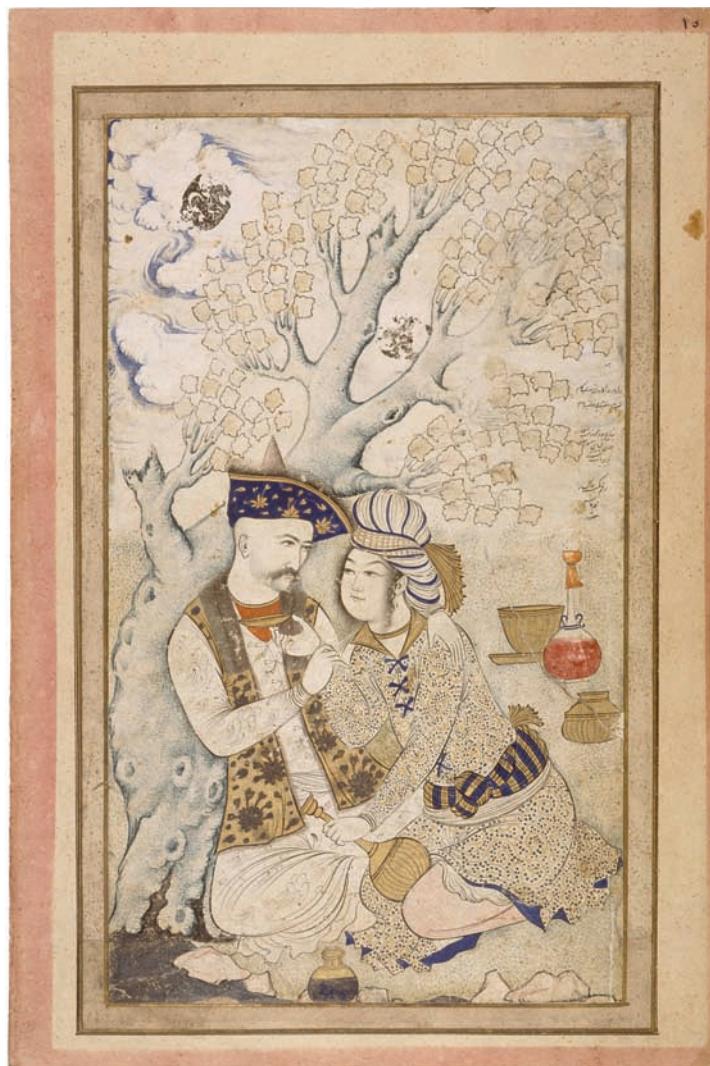
London

by TIM STANLEY

THE EXHIBITION *Shah 'Abbas: The Remaking of Iran* at the British Museum, London (to 14th June), was billed as the third in a series devoted to great rulers after *The First Emperor*, which took Qin Shihuangdi as its subject, and *Hadrian*, which was concerned with the Roman emperor. The Qin emperor is a hard act to follow. The country he succeeded in unifying is currently re-asserting its megapower status, and all the world knows of the extraordinary fashion in which he was buried, surrounded by massed ranks of terracotta warriors. The great bulk of the Castel Sant'Angelo in Rome, originally built to house Hadrian's tomb, pales by comparison, even if no one would call it modest. An even greater contrast is provided by Shah 'Abbas I, who ruled Iran from 1587 to 1629 and was buried at a relatively obscure location and in someone else's tomb. He was a great ruler, but his greatness was of a different order and was expressed in a very different way.

'Abbas rescued Iran from headlong decline and turned it into a power that was respected, both in its region and in lands as distant as England and Portugal. But he does not hold the same central place in his country's history as the Qin emperor, the founder of China as a unitary state. Nor did he leave ruined monuments over such a vast region as Hadrian, who ruled the whole of the Mediterranean littoral during an unprecedented peak in prosperity. But 'Abbas has the advantage of being a more recent ruler, and he has left us living monuments, including the 'New Town' he added to Isfahan, the city that became his capital in the closing years of the sixteenth century. Although the city ceased playing the role of capital two-and-a-half centuries ago, it is still stamped by the vision of its refounder.

'Abbas's Isfahan is a presence in this exhibition, where its impressive monuments, clad overall in patterned tilework of outstanding quality, are represented primarily through the projection of photographs on a suitably large scale. Yet, important as it is, Isfahan is only one of the subjects covered. One question addressed is what 'Abbas looked like. Another is the radical change in style that occurred after he moved the capital to Isfahan. But the core of the exhibition is a series of three sections devoted to major Shi'ite shrines and the gifts made to them by Shah 'Abbas and members of his family. It was through his devotion to Shi'ism that Shah 'Abbas chose to show himself to his subjects. Sometimes his piety took a spectacular form, as in 1601, when he



53. *Shah 'Abbas and a page boy*, by Muhammad Qasim. Iran, probably Isfahan. Dated 12th March 1627. Ink, gold and opaque watercolours on paper, 25.5 by 15 cm. (Musée du Louvre, Paris; exh. British Museum, London).

walked the 965 kilometres from Isfahan to the shrine of Imam Riza at Mashhad on foot. Until very recently Shi'ite patronage of the arts received relatively little attention. Sheila Canby's exhibition is therefore a timely contribution to the integration of this topic into the mainstream.

'Abbas had no statues of himself produced, nor did his head appear on his coinage. As the first section of the exhibition shows, represen-

tation of Shah 'Abbas was limited by custom to small-scale paintings, but many of the best have not survived. Poor copies of lost paintings predominate while the image chosen to promote the show is entirely absent, as it is part of a mural in the Chihil Sutun palace in Isfahan, painted two decades after 'Abbas's death. The best contemporary portrait of the Shah, produced in 1627 (Fig. 53), was presumably not used because it is so problematic: it



54. Short length of voiced velvet with tulips and butterflies. Iran, perhaps Isfahan, 1600–50. Silk and metal thread, 33 by 70.5 cm. (Kunstgewerbemuseum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin; exh. British Museum, London).

shows the ruler being served a cup of wine by a plump-faced page boy, whom 'Abbas has embraced. Indeed, this picture was consigned to another part of the exhibition – and the accompanying catalogue,¹ where it is no. 123 of 127 items.

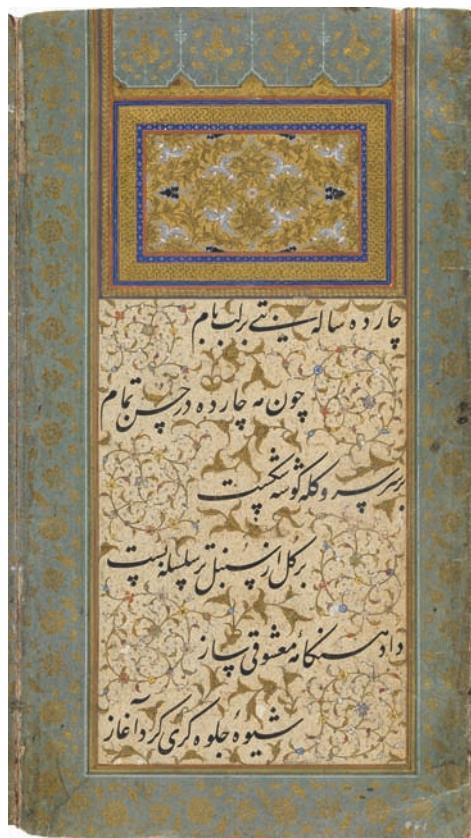
Shah 'Abbas and a page boy is by an artist called Muhammad Qasim, about whom very little is known for certain. What is clear, though, is that his work, like that of his contemporaries in Isfahan, is very different from anything produced in Iran before 'Abbas came to the throne. One very striking change is the limited use of colour and the primacy of drawing in ink, a medium that allowed the artist to achieve greater accuracy of detail and increased illusionism. The new role played by drawing and the change of style were both probably a reaction to the arrival of large numbers of European prints in Iran in the sixteenth century.

The waistcoat the Shah wears in this image has a gold ground on which flowering plants are arranged in a simple staggered repeat. The exhibition offers several striking examples of this new type of pattern (Fig. 54), which show an equally radical change from sixteenth-century Iranian norms. The ultimate source is again European, although the scientific pretensions of the herbals that provided the models have been transformed into something purely decorative. The butterfly, which in the European original would have been shown visiting a flower to add verisimilitude, has been moved sharply to the side to fill a gap.

The European parentage of these designs may well be indirect. The intermediary would have been South Asia, with which the Iran of Shah 'Abbas had far more intense interaction than with any part of Europe. The strength of these contacts is particularly well illustrated by the base metal objects in the show. These include two items with a distinctively South Asian form, one of which is attributed to southern India and the other to Iran (nos. 106 and 108). The innovations in Iranian luxury arts in the seventeenth century are not, then, the product of a simple, bivalent relationship with Europe. In this context it is unfortunate that the visual dominance of two large portraits in oils, of the English adventurer Robert Sherley and his wife (nos. 15 and 16), could not – and cannot – be matched by anything on a similar scale from Iran or South Asia. For, if anything, this show depicts a time when Europeans were present in Asia but were still being dealt with *de haut en bas*. 'Abbas dumped his European allies exactly when it suited him.

It was with the same assuredness that the artists around Shah 'Abbas created a hybrid 'Isfahan style'. They extracted what they needed from European, South Asian and also Ottoman sources and merged them rapidly with local traditions to bring the new style into being. It was already well integrated and widely disseminated long before Muhammad Qasim produced his portrait of the Shah in 1627.

One area of production that was impervious to this new hybridity was calligraphy, in which



55. An album of calligraphy in the *nasta'liq* style. Iran, Isfahan. Dated 1598. Ink, gold and opaque water-colours on paper, 23 by 12.6 cm. (Art and History Collection, courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington; exh. British Museum, London).

Iran continued to excel, supplying Muslim South Asia with both manuscripts and scribes. The examples in the exhibition demonstrate the superb quality achieved by the scribes in 'Abbas's employment, who included two of the all-time masters of the *nasta'liq* style, Mir 'Imad al-Hasani and 'Ali Riza 'Abbasi, who was responsible for the pages of poetry from the *Haft Aurang* (no. 5; Fig. 55). The illumination of this piece, with its blue-grey background and its contrasting tones of gold in the headpiece, evinces the new restrained but sumptuous colour range favoured by 'Abbas's court. This change is seen both in figurative painting and in silk carpets and other luxury textiles: the flowers in the tulip-and-butterfly velvet from Berlin, for example (Fig. 54), are rendered in a range of pale colours that include white, orange and pale blue. No precise explanation of this change in colour has been offered, but it can be seen as part of the new Isfahan style encouraged by Shah 'Abbas to mark the emergence of a revivified Iran under his leadership.

Compared with those produced in contemporary Europe and the Ottoman-ruled parts of the Middle East, the arts of Shah 'Abbas's reign do not survive in great numbers, and the condition of the surviving pieces is often poor. This explains why Sheila Canby gave herself a certain latitude in showing pieces that exemplify the style developed under Shah 'Abbas but were produced later in

the century. Nevertheless, great pleasure and great profit can be derived from viewing the modest group of objects from the period she has assembled at the British Museum, not least because this is only the third major exhibition to cover this important period in any detail. The first, entitled *Shah Abbas and the Arts of Isfahan* and devoted precisely to this period, was shown in New York and Boston in 1973–74.² The second, more general show, *Le Chant du monde. L'art de l'Iran safavide, 1501–1736*, was seen at the Musée du Louvre in 2007.³

What, then, of the Shi'ite shrines? 'Abbas left Iran a bigger country. In the north-east he drove back the Uzbeks, securing control of the great shrine of Mashhad. In the west he was equally successful against the Ottoman Turks, liberating the Shi'ite holy places of Iraq. These places of pilgrimage are of even more importance than Mashhad, as has become clear to a world audience since the US-led invasion of 2003. They had come into the care of 'Abbas's dynasty, the Safavids, after the formation of their state in the first decade of the sixteenth century but were lost to the Ottomans in the 1530s. Their restoration to the Safavid empire marked a resurgence of power.

Yet Canby has all but ignored the Iraqi shrines on which Shah 'Abbas lavished patronage, and has concentrated on the shrines that are currently within Iranian borders. She even includes a section on the shrine of Fatimah, the sister of Imam Riza, at Qum, which received little attention from the Shah. This peculiarity must reflect the structure of the exhibition before it was subjected to a 'big man' makeover by the British Museum authorities. A further problem is the lack of any objects that belonged to the shrines at Mashhad and Qum, because these two shrines are so revered that it is impossible to remove the objects donated to them for exhibition abroad. The displays at the British Museum therefore contain examples similar to the objects donated to Mashhad and Qum rather than the objects themselves.

A counterbalance is provided by the material 'Abbas donated to the dynastic shrine of Ardabil in north-west Iran. This was the burial place of Safi al-Din Ardabili, the fourteenth-century Sufi sheikh who was the progenitor of the Safavid line. As the man interred there was the founder of a Sufi order that no longer exists and a dynasty that finally fell from power in 1736, its possessions do not have the same aura of sanctity. The exhibition therefore shows examples from the huge collection of Chinese porcelain the Shah gave to the shrine, in addition to his donations of Islamic jade vessels and secular manuscripts. These provide a broader context for the works in the Isfahan style, as they represent what 'Abbas had inherited and then given away as almost none of them dates from his reign.

'Abbas's patronage of Mashhad was an important stage in the rise of the shrine to the pre-eminence it enjoys today. In the same way, 'Abbas's religious policies and his support of a developing Shi'ite hierarchy helped to lay

the foundations for today's Islamic Republic. In other respects, though, 'Abbas's legacy is limited. He made his country richer and stronger, presiding over a surge in international trade and undertaking a thoroughgoing reorganisation of the Safavid state and its military resources. But his stronger opponents, the Ottomans, were only temporarily dislodged from Iraq, and soon after his death, the Shi'ite shrines there were back in Ottoman hands. Within a century of his death, the Safavid state had collapsed altogether, leaving Iran as what in contemporary terms would be called a failed state. However successful it may have been, 'Abbas's reign does not represent a highpoint in the *ancien régime* that preceded the Islamic Revolution of 1979. He is rather the last great figure of an older Islamic Iran, the one that existed before European expansion completely changed the world. 'Abbas may have 'remade' Iran, but his descendants helped to unmake it, and other, perhaps lesser men had once more to remake it.

¹ Catalogue: *Shah 'Abbas: The Remaking of Iran*. By Sheila R. Canby. 274 pp. incl. 205 col. ills. (British Museum Press, London, 2009), £40 (HB). ISBN 978-0-7141-2456-8; £25 (PB). ISBN 978-0-7141-2452-0.

² A. Welch, ed.: exh. cat. *Shah Abbas and the Arts of Isfahan*, New York (Asia House Gallery) 1973 and Cambridge MA (Fogg Art Museum) 1974.

³ A. Souren Melikian-Chirvani: exh. cat. *Le Chant du monde: L'art de l'Iran safavide, 1501–1736*, Paris (Musée du Louvre) 2007–08; reviewed in this Magazine, 150 (2008), pp.393–96.

Cassoni

London

by ROBERTA BARTOLI

FOR MUCH OF the twentieth century painted *cassoni* – hybrid objects, part painting, part furniture – were relegated to the nether regions of scholarship and, with a few exceptions, not included in mainstream stylistic studies. Viewed almost as 'folk art', they were used to define the society of the era, although the decorated front panels provided inspiration for countless scholarly iconographic studies. The many exhibitions dedicated over the past three years to *cassoni* and more generally to the Renaissance wedding, of which they were the symbolic object par excellence, have concentrated on their practical uses and iconographic aspects. The exhibition *Love and Marriage in Renaissance Florence: The Courtauld Wedding Chests* held at the **Courtauld Gallery, London** (closed 17th May), however, was distinguished by its very broad treatment of the subject and its consideration of *cassoni* in terms of their function – used for storing valuable items – of the subjects portrayed and of their place in the history of collecting, without neglecting such issues as attribution and dating. Many of these chests



56. Chest and *spalliera* with the arms of Lorenzo Morelli and Vaggia Nerli (the Morelli Chest), by Biagio d'Antonio, Jacopo del Sellaio and Zanobi di Domenico. 1472. Wood, gesso tempera, oil and gilding, 205.5 by 193 cm. overall. (Courtauld Gallery, London).

were ordered in pairs and, at the Courtauld, most of the items were displayed together with their original companion pieces.

The highlight of the exhibition was the exquisite pair of chests from the Gallery's own collection that Lorenzo di Matteo Morelli commissioned from the painters Jacopo del Sellaio and Biagio d'Antonio for his marriage with Vaggia di Tanai de' Nerli in 1472 (cat. nos. 1–2; Fig. 56). These are the only two certainly documented chests to have survived with intact woodwork (albeit, with some restorations) together with their respective *spalliere* (backboards) painted with scenes that complemented the subjects depicted on the chests. This fortunate survival raises the question – still open – as to exactly how and where the *spalliere* were placed on the walls of fifteenth-century bedrooms before fashion changed, and they were replaced by tapestries during the next century. The exhibition presented the *spalliere* above the open lids of their respective chests, and even if the spectator may at first have found them too high, it gave some idea of the huge proportions of

bedrooms in patrician Renaissance homes. Vasari's statement that the Florentines of the times used to have 'great wooden chests in the form of a sarcophagus'¹ is supported by the clear similarity of the shapes of the Morelli–Nerli chests and the tomb of Giovanni and Piero de' Medici (Old Sacristy, S. Lorenzo, Florence) designed by Verrocchio in the same year, 1472, as the Morelli marriage (p. 18): the tomb provided a model that became the standard form for fifteenth-century Tuscan art including *cassoni*.

The earliest pair of chests on show was painted by Giovanni Toscani with scenes from Boccaccio's *Decameron*, specifically the story of Bernabò Visconti, Ginevra and Ambrogiuolo. A chest from the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh (no. 3), illustrating the first episodes of the novella, was reunited with its companion whose painted surface is far brighter (private collection; no. 4; Fig. 57). Although the woodwork of both chests is typical of the late nineteenth-century historicist style, the paintings are dated by Caroline Campbell in the catalogue² to the years 1420–25. She rightly



57. Cassone with scenes from Boccaccio's *Decameron*, by Giovanni Toscani. Front panel, here dated c. 1425–30; chest, a nineteenth-century reconstruction. Wood, gesso, tempera and gilding, 82.5 by 195.5 by 68.6 cm. overall. (Private collection; exh. Courtauld Gallery, London).



58. *The siege of Carthage and the continence of Scipio*, by the Master of the Ringling Triumph. c.1460. Tempera and oil on panel, 42.5 by 130 cm. (painted surface). (Courtauld Gallery, London).

emphasises the quality of these paintings by Giovanni Toscani (1370/80–1430), a supporting player on the dazzling early quattrocento Florentine scene, who defined himself in his 1427 tax statement as a ‘*cofanai*’, a ‘chest-maker’ (there are a dozen surviving examples of his work). In my opinion a dating in the second half of the 1420s would seem to be supported by the compositions of the two scenes that appear to be based on Gentile da Fabriano’s predella panels for the Quaratesi altarpiece, dated 1425: *St Nicholas and three poor maidens* (Pinacoteca, Vatican City) seems to have been the inspiration for the scene of Ambrogiuolo spying on Ginevra in the bedroom, and *St Nicholas resuscitates three youths thrown into a brine tub* (Pinacoteca, Vatican City) could be a direct precursor of the groups of figures shown in perspective on the companion chest. Ghiberti’s relief sculptures on the North Door of Florence Baptistery were certainly a source of inspiration for Giovanni Toscani, but the nude figure of Ambrogiuolo on the right-hand side of Fig. 57 owes less to the Christ in Ghiberti’s *Flagellation* (for example), than to the soft forms of the contemporary terracottas by Michele da Firenze. *Cassoni* painters must have been familiar with terracotta sculpture because of its replicable versatility and the fact that it was widely used. Indeed, there are some surviving terracottas by the famous and elusive Dello Delli – the ‘chest-maker’ of whom Vasari writes at length – made for S. Maria Nuova, Florence, and dating from before 1425, as well as a *Man of sorrows* (Victoria and Albert Museum, London). An awareness of sculpture is also evident in the works of Giovanni di Ser Giovanni (called Lo Scheggia), as can be seen in the roundels with faux-marble busts decorating the temple in *The meeting of Solomon and Sheba* (private collection; no.6). These artists often worked in a variety of media and on varied commissions; the *cofanai* Apollonio di Giovanni is documented as having been commissioned to paint the altarpiece of the Temperani chapel in the church of S. Pancrazio, Florence,³ a project that was never executed but that would have undoubtedly tested his abilities given its monumental size, accustomed as he was to working on a small scale.

This is the first time that the panel of *The siege of Carthage and the continence of Scipio* (no.7; Fig. 58) has been displayed since it was left to the Gallery in 1966. It is attributed in the cata-

logue to the ‘Master of the Ringling Triumph’, but it is to be hoped that the more poetic name, Maestro del Trionfo di Alfonso d’Aragona, coined by Antonio Pinelli for the anonymous artist, will be used in the future. In 2006 Pinelli assembled six panels by the same hand under this name.⁴ His careful stylistic study highlighted the points of contact between these works and those which are definitely by Lo Scheggia, as well as observing some stylistic idiosyncrasies in the manner of painting horses or designing architecture including massive castles. These characteristics, in turn, led to the very cautious hypothesis that the anonymous master might perhaps be identified as Antonfrancesco, Lo Scheggia’s son, who shared the workshop with his father. However, the slightly Lippesque faces do not precisely match the features of the *Virtues* in the Cambò collection, Barcelona, attributed by Bellosi to Antonfrancesco working alongside his father, who himself executed the *Liberal Arts* on the companion panel.⁵ The author of the Courtauld panel must therefore remain anonymous for the present.

Chronologically the exhibition (shown in one large gallery) concluded with the pair of panels of the *Rape of the Sabine women* and the *Reconciliation of the Romans and Sabines* from Harewood House (nos.9–10) attributed to the Maestro di Marradi, where the compressed composition and the architecturally anachronistic view of Rome in the first panel was replaced in the second by an imaginary landscape complete with a seaport (Ostia?) not mentioned in Livy’s account. Although they are slightly larger than the average *cassone*, they were probably chest panels, as borne out by the traces of keyholes on the back of the panels (p.103).

In this reviewer’s opinion the catalogue of this exquisite exhibition will become a benchmark for future studies. It is exceptional in its use of contemporary sources and documents, in its very full bibliography and in its graceful and witty style. Caroline Campbell has understood the rich interaction between the various arts in fifteenth-century Florence, in particular that between literature and narrative painting and the artists’ greater freedom in the use of sources thanks to the compendia and vernacular texts that were so popular at the time. The section on the history of the collecting of *cassoni* excellently complements Alan Chong’s fine essay in the catalogue of the Boston exhibition⁶ and draws attention to the

importance of William Roscoe of Liverpool (1753–1831) in the history of the collecting of *cassoni*, as well as to his infatuation with Lorenzo the Magnificent, even if he never visited Florence.

¹ G. Vasari: ‘Vita di Dello Delli’, *Le vite de’ più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori . . .*, 1568, ed. R. Bettarini and P. Barocchi, Florence 1966–87, III, pp.37–41, esp. p.37.

² Catalogue: *Love and Marriage in Renaissance Florence: The Courtauld Wedding Chests*. By Caroline Campbell, with contributions by Graeme Barracough and Tilly Schmidt. 120 pp. incl. 80 col. illus. (Courtauld Gallery in association with Paul Holberton Publishing, London, 2009), £25. ISBN 978-1-90347-0916.

³ E. Callmann: *Apollonio di Giovanni*, Oxford 1974, pp.35 and 82–85.

⁴ A. Pinelli: ‘Fatti, parole, immagini. Resoconti scritti e rappresentazioni visive del trionfo napoletano di Alfonso d’Aragona’, in G. Alisio, S. Bertelli and A. Pinelli: *Arte e politica tra Napoli e Firenze: un cassone per il trionfo di Alfonso d’Aragona*, Modena 2006, pp.33–75, esp. pp.60–62.

⁵ F.J. Sanchez: exh. cat. *Collección Cambó*, Madrid (Museo del Prado) 1990, pp.162–63.

⁶ A. Chong: ‘The American Discovery of Cassone Painting’, in C. Baskins, ed.: exh. cat. *The Triumph of Marriage: Painted Cassoni of the Renaissance*, Boston (Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum) and Sarasota (Ringling Museum) 2008–09, pp.66–93; reviewed by Timothy Plaut in this Magazine, 151 (2009), pp.131–32.

George Scharf’s London

London

by GILLIAN DARLEY

GEORGE SCHARF’S DECISION to follow the armies caught up in the Napoleonic wars, offering his services as a portraitist to both sides, was to prove the shrewdest move of his career. Before long he had enlisted in the British army as a ‘lieutenant of baggage’ in the Engineers, perhaps recruited for his proven skills at drawing fortifications. Scharf was present at the Battle of Waterloo and then went to Paris with the army of occupation. Finally he headed for England, marking his approach with a drawing (cat. no.4) showing Dover from the sea, the cliffs and castle intriguing to every new arrival but particularly so to this one.

As an art student at the Munich academy George Scharf had gravitated towards printmaking, particularly the new technique of lithography, then coming into its own. His move to Britain offered good prospects since the field for commercial artists was far less crowded than in Germany. From the moment Scharf arrived in London in January 1816 he became a consummate portraitist – but of the city as a whole. Over almost half a century he caught its changing physiognomy more perceptively than the other (home-grown) topographical artists of the period such as Thomas Hosmer Shepherd or Thomas Shotter Boys. The current exhibition, *George Sharf: From the Regency Street to the Modern Metropolis*, curated by Jerzy Kierkuć-Bielinski and looking particularly well in the gallery at Sir John Soane's Museum, London (to 6th June),¹ is almost entirely drawn from the enormous holding of Scharf's work at the British Museum.

Scharf's London is alive, pulsing with people and pounding with construction. It is the mundane, unassuming nature of his subject-matter that makes Scharf's work such a revelation to a modern audience. The processes of urban development are caught; he shows us demolition and rebuilding, he chronicles building sites even down to their mishaps and accidents, their technical processes and machinery, looking hard and close at everything that contributes to the final result. Scharf's annotations add more detail still; 'this cowel came from the Pantheon Oxford Street', he writes on a drawing that shows men tarring the hoops which were to bind the brickwork on an extension to the British Museum in 1844 (no.33). He must have hung around each site, asking questions of the labourers, consuming odd bits of information of no great relevance but collectively evocative of how people were making and mending London, picking it apart and putting it back together in the boom years.

Scharf has the eye of a traveller and the curiosity of an outsider. In the pencil sketches he makes as an informal diary of his life and surroundings he is acutely aware of the small differences that mark out the quotidian in England as compared with Germany. He kept copious sketchbooks filled with typical



60. *Panoramic view of the ruins of the late Houses of Parliament*, by George Scharf. 1834. Pencil, watercolour with oil on paper on canvas, 81.5 by 141.5 cm. (Collection of the Palace of Westminster, London; exh. Sir John Soane's Museum, London).

London ‘types’ (Fig. 59), the cast of characters that he then introduced to a street scene or a state funeral, as the case might be. The fresh backyard views made at his home off the Tottenham Court Road, where he lived with his English wife and two sons, appear to be entirely spontaneous, catching the instant, but we know from his annotations that they had been carefully orchestrated (no. 12). The perspective is frequently exaggerated, the incidents often contrived, but the overriding impression remains one of domestic intimacy and apparent immediacy. Such modest detail of the backyards, and background, to London were rarely seen until Victorian photographers began to gather such images, usually for purposes of social reform or urban improvement. Scharf the printmaker was always intrigued by photography, recording in his diary the landmark British Association meeting in 1839 at which Daguerre’s work was discussed.

Scharf found Britain rich in ceremonial. He took great pleasure in the proliferation of uniforms, military and civil, catching off-duty Yeomen of the Guard and men in the Postal Service. As a lithographer he mined a saleable seam, commemorating state occasions, the Lord Mayor's annual dinner (no.18), state

funerals and even George IV's Coronation (no.15). But his heart and inclination lay elsewhere, recording the individual items and general displays in major museum collections, all being closely scrutinised by the rising generation of scientists. He was in contact with many leading figures, including the young Charles Darwin, but he was particularly intrigued and convinced by the work of Richard Owen, the anatomist and disputer of Darwinian ideas, whose lectures he attended and applauded. On paper, Scharf's scientific curiosity was engaged as much by the lie of the land on a giraffe's tongue as by that in the messy trench where gas-pipes or sewers were being laid.

Museums seem to have been his home from home. He drew the Royal Military Repository inside the Rotonda at Woolwich (no.33), Nash's 1822 'tent' that recalled the original one from Carlton House. He records the showcases and gives enough detail for the viewer to get a good impression of the (now, sadly, disused) interior. Another long forgotten museum, the National Gallery of Practical Science in Adelaide Street, drew him there most weeks and his watercolour of the toplit gallery is one of the less familiar works on display (no.38). He also recorded the Bank of England, just as Soane's successor, C.R. Cockerell, set about remodelling elements of the interior (no.51).

Scharf's later life was a sad affair epitomised by the depressing history of his finest large-scale work, a panoramic watercolour of the burned-out Palace of Westminster, 'The Ruins of the late Houses of Parliament', which he had also conceived as a lithograph. The print was not to be, nor could he find a buyer for the painting. Eleven years later, in 1845, he touched it up with oil paint, to brighten and intensify the effects. Still it did not sell. It was finally auctioned just before his death in 1860. The ill-starred painting, a remarkable work, then disappeared from view only to re-emerge in South Africa in 1993. It now hangs where it belongs, in the Palace of Westminster, and is the star of this show (no. 56; Fig. 60).

59. Men and boys with advertising boards, by George Scharf. 1834-40. Water-colour with pen and ink, 13.5 by 21.9 cm. (British Museum, London; exh. Sir John Soane's Museum, London).



Scharf's elder son, George Scharf Jr, was to become a student at the Royal Academy Schools and his career initially reflected his father's before rising far above it, at least in terms of formal achievement. He joined a number of key archaeological expeditions as a printmaker and, increasingly, a scholar. (His father had worked for Joseph Bonomi recording Egyptian antiquities until Bonomi – who knew Egypt well – withdrew the commission, citing Scharf's inaccuracy.) In 1857 the younger Scharf became the first Secretary of the National Portrait Gallery. Meanwhile of all those who had formerly employed him, only Richard Owen came to old George Scharf's aid. Hearing of his financial hardship, Owen, by then in charge of the Natural History section of the British Museum, awarded him a pension of £1 per week to draw anything he chose in the collection.

¹ Catalogue: *George Scharf: From the Regency Street to the Modern Metropolis*. With contributions by Jerzy J. Kierkuć-Bielinski, John Murray, Caroline Arscott and Susan Palmer. 96 pp. incl. 80 col. ills. (Sir John Soane's Museum, London, 2009), £14.50. ISBN 978-0-9558762-62.

Recent exhibitions

London

by NICHOLAS CULLINAN

THE ARTIST-CURATED exhibition has become a staple of museum and gallery programmes over the last few years. Examples of these include Ugo Rondinone's superlative show *The Third Mind* at the Palais de Tokyo, Paris, and Steven Claydon's *Strange Events Permit Themselves the Luxury of Occurring* at the Camden Arts Centre, London (both from 2007), to name just two of the best of recent ones. This might imply the eventual obsolescence of the curator, for the results are often more inventive than might be expected from a conventional group show. *Mark Wallinger Curates: The Russian Linesman* at the **Hayward Gallery** (closed 4th May and now at **Leeds City Art Gallery**; to 28th June)¹ continues this trend and contains some inspired juxtapositions, straddling the central curatorial thesis of 'Frontiers, Borders and Thresholds'. These include the pairing of Bruce Nauman's video of the artist seemingly suspended in his studio in *Revolving upside down* (1969) with Eadweard Muybridge's chronophotography studies of birds and humans in motion from his *Animal Locomotion* series of 1887. The show encompasses what could have been a bewildering array of objects from over two thousand years, including, according to the catalogue, 'classical and minimalist sculpture, 17th century painting, Victorian photography, Renaissance prints, stereoscopic images, video and installation', so what, one might reasonably wonder, could be the common and undeniable denom-



61. *Continuous profile (Head of Mussolini)*, by Renato Giuseppe Bertelli. 1933. Terracotta with black glaze, 48.9 cm. high. (Imperial War Museum, London; exh. Hayward Gallery, London).

inator between such a wilfully heterogeneous assortment, beyond the fact that Wallinger had chosen them?² The theme of doubling, repetition and liminal states is laid bare by the (quite literal) face-off between the Janus-faced early Roman *Double headed Herm, with heads of Dionysus and bearded Silenus* adjacent to Renato Giuseppe Bertelli's *Continuous profile (Head of Mussolini)* from 1933 (Fig.61); such wildly eclectic curatorial choices still manage to be coherent and legible. The exhibition takes its title from the infamous moment during the 1966 World Cup final when the linesman awarded the decisive goal to England during its match with West Germany; nowhere is this theme of fate hanging by a thread more directly put forward than in the footage of the French high-wire artist Philippe Petit's audacious tightrope walk in 1974 between the top of both towers of the then still unfinished World Trade Center in New York, which seemed to defy both death and gravity at the same time. While this might imply the exhibition is suggesting the poetic and transformative power of art (the ability to move from one realm to another), instead, it seems to introduce a more sardonically political tone. This is especially apparent in Thomas Demand's *Poll* – a photograph recreating the Florida office where the decisive (and contested) election recount took place during the 2000 U.S. presidential election. The banal nature of the desks strewn with notepads and ballpoints reminds one that even the supposedly grand events of history are always on the cusp of success and failure, triumph and farce.

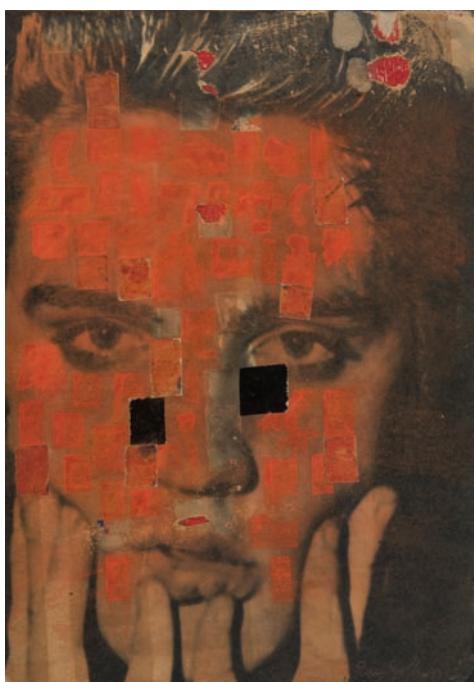
After a series of disappointing exhibitions, the **Serpentine Gallery** mounted a strong survey show of works by Rebecca Warren (closed 19th April).³ Encompassing her sculptures, in clay and in bronze as well as vitrines that enclose an array of carefully chosen objects, often lit by neon tubes penetrating the boxes, the show was beautifully installed, and played to the strengths of the architecture as well as respecting the building's limitations, rather than trying to cram in too much. The exhibition included some of Warren's earliest works such as *Helmut Crumb* (1998), which

depicts two pairs of crudely schematised and bulbous female legs, roughly fashioned in clay. Depicted from behind, and towering in stilettos, these limbs are reduced to an assortment of bulging calves, balloon-like buttocks and a notional orifice. The double nature of this work finds its counterpart in the title, which is a portmanteau of the names of the photographer Helmut Newton and the cartoonist Robert Crumb, both renowned for their, respectively, stylised and comedic depictions of work, but both of which are equally fetishised and caricatural. If the forms of such works – all undulating flesh with pantomime protuberances – did not alert the viewer to the distinctly feminist slant of Warren's work, then titles such as *Husband nine* certainly did. Warren, like Sarah Lucas, seems to tackle sexual objectification in order to take possession of it and reroute it back to its perpetrators. Sculptures in clay such as *Helmut Crumb* and *The mechanic* (Fig.62) are perhaps what Warren is best known for, but her wall-mounted vitrines are arguably more compelling. Encompassing detritus and bric-a-brac from scraps and off-cuts of wood, blobs of clay and small fuzzy toys, these works were displayed to best effect in the Serpentine's side galleries, where the flooding-in of natural daylight balanced the halos and aureoles of artificial light emitted by the objects. The other works that predominated were Warren's amorphous clay sculptures, which, despite their inert material, suggest the forms are capable of convulsing, as in the *We are dead* series from 2008. Perhaps the most striking aspect of these works, however (and this is meant in the best possible sense), was their bases – an array of painted MDF plinths or wooden carts on wheels, which suggested that, along with the flawless installation of the exhibition, and like Wallinger, Warren has a keen eye for the museological.

The inaugural exhibition at the new East End gallery **Raven Row** was *Ray Johnson: Please Add To & Return* (closed 10th May), which gathered together an impressive range of loans from private collectors and Johnson's estate to form an appropriately idiosyncratic



62. *The mechanic*, by Rebecca Warren. 2000. Unfired clay, MDF plinth with turntable, 48 by 36 by 48 cm. (Courtesy of Maureen Paley, London; exh. Serpentine Gallery, London).



63. *Elvis no.2*, by Ray Johnson. 1956–57. Collage, 27.3 by 19 cm. (Collection of William S. Wilson, courtesy of the Estate of Ray Johnson at Richard L. Feigen & Co.; exh. Raven Row, London).

small survey show, installed in the quirky spaces of this former town house. A graduate of Black Mountain College and a friend of Jasper Johns, Robert Rauschenberg, Cy Twombly and Andy Warhol, Johnson still remains largely unknown, despite a prestigious retrospective at the Whitney Museum of American Art in New York in 1999. He was one of the first artists to adopt the celebrity iconography of Pop art in the 1950s, Performance and Happenings in the 1960s and, as the founder of the 'New York Correspondence School' in 1962, one of the pioneers of Mail art. The exhibition gathered together works spanning Johnson's entire career, ranging from early collages such as *Elvis no.2* (1956–57; Fig.63), to later, more hermetic and obscure pieces that Johnson obsessively reworked over the years, such as *Untitled* (*Artforum: Urn with Paul Cézanne harlequin*) (1980–92). Many of the works, despite their wry humour and arch references, invoke a disconcerting grapple with failure and melancholy. *Today* (1969) featured skulls next to brief epistles such as 'Dear Yvonne, How sad I am today', while others such as the mail-out *Untitled* (*Ray Johnson is a dum dum*) of 1963, dabble in self-loathing, or the more succinct and insistent 'Failure, Failure, Failure', repeated as a litany in another undated photocopy mailing. Much of this downbeat tenor, however, is leavened with a wicked and knowing sense of humour, such as superimposing Bridget Riley's trademark Op art undulating lines onto a photograph of her, so that her 'masterpieces' are reduced to nothing more than frizzy hair.

Some of Johnson's works were jaw-dropping exercises in self-sabotage, such as his letter to the Whitney Museum (which had given him an exhibition in 1971) that summarily stated: 'Dear Whitney Museum, I hate you, love

Ray Johnson'. These works of assiduous professional suicide communicated an uneasy feeling to their reader, especially given the knowledge of Johnson's own suicide that was to follow them as an almost all-too-perfect apotheosis of his art; after he had announced his best performance yet to the majority of names in the phonebook, he swam out to his death in a freezing sea in 1995. One of the most poignant works in the exhibition was another undated photocopied mailing simply called *Untitled (Epitaph)* which reads 'Ray Johnson, 1927–1989', set in a black-and-white triangle composed of many smaller triangles. Was this an over-pessimistic prophecy, or a piece of back-dated black humour? Johnson was out by six years. The epithet applied to him in an article from the *New York Times* in 1965, describing him as the city's 'most famous unknown artist', rather than now being read as prophecy, can, one hopes, at least be laid to rest, as this brilliant and concise survey suggested.

¹ After Leeds, the exhibition will be seen at the Glynn Vivian Gallery, Swansea (18th July to 20th September).

² R. Malbert: 'Afterword', in *The Russian Linesman: Frontiers, Borders and Thresholds*. By Mark Wallinger. 143 pp. incl. 71 col. ills. (Hayward Gallery, London, 2009), £14.99 (PB). ISBN 978-1-853322-71-6.

³ Catalogue: *Rebecca Warren*. By Julia Peyton-Jones and Hans-Ulrich Obrist. 96 pp. incl. 60 col. ills. (Serpentine Gallery, London, 2009), £24. ISBN 978-1-905190-26-3.

the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin (to 28th June), accompanied by a handful of complementary works by the landscapists George Mullins, Robert Carver, John Butts, George Barret and William Ashford.

Roberts's training with Mullins and Butts seems to have had little enduring impact on him. Indeed, the death of the latter in 1765 and the departure of the former for London in 1770 were to Roberts's advantage. Among his earliest works are topographical scenes of modest locations such as Clonskeagh, near Dublin (cat. no.9), and others in County Wicklow (nos.6 and 10) which, by the 1760s, was already a popular destination for artists. Roberts also went further afield painting views, each of which exists in two versions, of Ballyshannon, Co. Donegal, the only motif for which a drawing by the artist survives (nos.18–20), and Belleek, Co. Fermanagh, not yet famous for its porcelain (nos.16 and 17).

The earliest surviving work by Roberts in which his promise is fully apparent is *A frost piece* (no.5; Fig.64), shown at the Society of Artists in Dublin in 1769. Here, Roberts set out what were to become some of his compositional and figural benchmarks. For example, he liked to place a prominent tree in the foreground, away from the painting's edge leaving a secondary vista to trade against the main one, which usually has a strongly diagonal line of recession.

Roberts was a proud Irishman who, on occasion, added the word 'Ireland' to his signature (nos.57 and 66). In this respect the ruins shown in several works are particularly engaging (e.g. no.50). Although Roberts is known to have drawn notable Irish ruins, when he depicted distinctive Irish structures such as round towers in his paintings they are rarely specific; rather, bathed in golden light, they serve loosely to evoke Irish medieval architecture and make him a forerunner of nineteenth-century antiquarian artists such as George Petrie. Roberts's 'landstorms', studies of storms on land, allowed him to depict the elements, especially the wind, whether as a light breeze (no.8) or a sustained blast (e.g. no.57). The inclusion of a rainbow (no.62)

Thomas Roberts

Dublin

by PHILIP McEVANSONEYA

IN THE PREVIOUS exhibition devoted to the Irish landscape painter Thomas Roberts held in 1978, only sixteen of his works were shown. His known œuvre now stands at sixty-four, forty-seven of which are in the exhibition *Thomas Roberts (1748–1777)* currently at



64. *A frost piece*, by Thomas Roberts. Exh. 1769. Canvas, 99 by 137 cm. (Private collection; exh. National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin).



65. *The sheet of water at Carton, with the Duke and Duchess of Leinster about to board a rowing boat*, by Thomas Roberts. Canvas, 111 by 153 cm. (Private collection; exh. National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin).

served to demonstrate his ability with effects of nature, a topic of great interest among landscapists and theorists of the day. Under the influence of Claude-Joseph Vernet, whose work Irish Grand Tourists brought back with them, he also depicted a stormy sea-coast (no.22). A departure from the main path of his work is seen in his paintings of horses and donkeys (nos.43–44) and a combination of human and animal portraiture, unique in his œuvre, is found in *Bold Sir William (a Barb), an Indian servant and French dog in the possession of Gerald FitzGerald* (no.40).

The exhibition reaches its zenith in the six canvases of the series depicting the park at Carton. The four which Roberts completed show the demesne and park at four different times of day (nos.64–67; the other two were painted in a strongly contrasting, robust style by Ashford). They are subtly linked by repetitions of motif and figures. The fourth, *The sheet of water* (no.67; Fig.65), is perhaps Roberts's masterpiece of the type, the smoothness and control of its execution being entirely appropriate to the depiction of the gently receding serpentine line of the water under warm evening light.

The exhibition coincides with a substantial publication on the artist.¹ At first glance a 415-page book might seem like overkill for an artist who died aged twenty-eight and by whom only sixty-odd works are known. But that is not the case, for the book is a closely argued monograph on Irish landscape painting of the period between c.1750 and 1780, its motifs and patrons. There is nothing with which to compare it in its meticulous examination of all conceivable aspects of numerous works, not only by Roberts but by various Irish and English contemporaries. All Roberts's known works are catalogued and reproduced, as are three antiquarian watercolours by Gabriel Beranger based on lost drawings by Roberts. Unfortunately it contains neither a list of the works by the other artists included in the exhibition, nor a list of lost documented works, nor a list of works de-attributed since the 1978 exhibition; a fuller index would have been useful. Nevertheless, it is a major contribution

to scholarship in its field and the presentation is of the excellent standards already associated with the publisher.

Roberts remains little known outside Ireland, and the only public institutions, other than the National Gallery of Ireland, to hold examples of his work are the Yale Center for British Art, New Haven (nos.11 and 12), and the Whitworth Art Gallery, Manchester (no.41), although they were bought as the work of Ashford. The exhibition is complementary to the recent show of history paintings and portraits in oil and pastel by the Irishman Hugh Douglas Hamilton.² It makes the reasonable claim that, however short his life may have been, and however limited his opportunities, Roberts was the most able and inventive Irish landscape painter of his era; it reveals his rapid maturity, confirms his stylistic versatility and shows his early death to have been all the more of a loss.

¹ Catalogue: *Thomas Roberts (1748–1777)*. By William Laffan and Brendan Rooney. 415 pp. incl. 319 col. ills. (Churchill House Press for the National Gallery of Ireland, Tralee, 2009), €55. ISBN 978-0-9550246-3-4.

² Catalogue reviewed by Hugh Belsey in this Magazine, 151 (2009), p.250.

The Della Robbia

Arezzo

by NICOLETTA BALDINI

FROM THE 1470S the Florentine workshop of the Della Robbia family, then presided over by Andrea della Robbia (1435–1525), enjoyed enormous popularity in Arezzo and its surrounding territory. The exhibition *I Della Robbia. Il dialogo tra le Arti nel Rinascimento* at the Museo Statale d'Arte medievale e moderna, Arezzo (to 7th June), aims to show the products of that workshop to a wide audience. For those who saw the exhibition at Fiesole in 1998 curated by Giancarlo Gentilini,¹ based on his own fundamental scholarship

on the Della Robbia² as well as on that of other scholars, the present exhibition perhaps appears to be a kind of replication in a slightly half-hearted attempt to engage a wider public. Its rather different emphasis is implicit in the subtitle: 'the dialogue between the arts in the Renaissance'; its aim is to demonstrate how the 'invention' by Luca della Robbia some time before 1441 of tin-glazed earthenware (*terracotta invetriata*) should be viewed as a part of the figurative and technical 'revivals' in which the great protagonists of the early Renaissance (Donatello, Ghiberti, Masaccio) were together involved. If this 'dialogue' was central to the exhibition's thesis, certainly Andrea (Luca's nephew) and later his numerous children active in the family business, were perfectly attuned to the artistic endeavours of their contemporaries and also remarkably adaptable in carrying out the most diverse demands of their varied clientele.

Unfortunately, the historical circumstances in which this 'dialogue' took place, in which three generations of sculptors and modellers participated, were not adequately explained. Political events in Florence (not only those connected with the Medici family) influenced both the large-scale artistic enterprises and also private commissions, and research by historians and economic historians seems to have escaped the attention of the art historians. Secondly, since the exhibition was intended to appeal to a general audience rather than specialists, it would have been helpful to have provided early on in the exhibition a clear outline of the career of Luca della Robbia and of artists such as Donatello, Ghiberti, Brunelleschi and Filippo Lippi with whom Luca was so closely linked. The presence of rather too many



66. *Virgin and Child with an apple*, by Luca della Robbia. c.1440–45. Tin-glazed terracotta relief, 74 by 48 cm. (Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence; exh. Museo Statale d'Arte medievale e moderna, Arezzo).



67. *St Sebastian*, by Andrea della Robbia. c.1500–10. Tin-glazed terracotta, 130 by 40 cm. (Museo Civico e Diocesano d'Arte Sacra, Montalcino; exh. Museo Statale d'Arte medievale e moderna, Arezzo).

'Virgin and Child' groups by Luca (Fig.66) and his associates, works which for the most part appear to be of uncertain attribution, added to the problem. This is also evident in the first essays in the catalogue³ on the subject of those relationships which provide neither clarity, insights nor any documentary evidence. Some help to set Luca and his works in a historical context: Marino Marini's essay on the connections between Della Robbia terracotta and maiolica in Florence in the early Renaissance widens the field to the cultural influences that reached the city through its commercial connections with Spain; Maria Grazia Vaccari again provides a useful explanation of technique and its practical aspects which confirmed the success of the Della Robbia family; and Marco Collareta places the art of tin-glazed earthenware promoted by Luca in the mainstream of a strong Florentine tradition documented in the sources, which made this extraordinary artistic flowering possible.

Less problematic (and more enjoyable) are the sections dedicated to Andrea and his children. The installation allows one to compare the terracottas to the paintings: the close connection, for example, between Andrea's *Virgin and Child* for S. Maria Nuova, Florence (cat. no.59), and the one in Hamburg (no.60) and the identical subjects by Perugino (Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio di Perugia; no.61) illustrate the affinities in the conception of the composition and the relationship between mother and child which typify art in the time of Savonarola (four of Andrea's children were followers of the friar and entered the Dominican order). The good selection of larger-scale pieces, including the *St Sebastian* from Montalcino (Fig.67), the *Virgin Annunciate* and the *Angel of the Annunciation* from Norcia (nos.68 and 76) and *St Mary Magdalene* from Borgo a Mozzano (no.70), make it possible to grasp the method by which such works were made in pieces which could be dispatched and assembled (even at some distance from Florence) on the site for which they were commissioned. This, combined with reasonable prices and with the terracotta's resistance to the elements when placed out of doors, made these works – particularly Andrea's vast output – much in demand, both for public worship (for example the numerous altars in the Franciscan sanctuary at La Verna) and for domestic use, as evident in the small-scale works that close the exhibition. The catalogue essays relating to this section are full of interesting observations. Antonio Natali compares Girolamo della Robbia and Raphael via Ridolfo Ghirlandaio; while Gentilini in his essay, written with Tommaso Mozzati, 'Naturalia e mirabilia nell'ornato architettonico e nell'arredo domestico' and in another on 'La pittura "eterna" nel "parentado della Robbia"' provides a picture of the fascination and fame of the art of the Della Robbia family over a long period. This section of the catalogue (which contains ample entries for over one hundred works in which the debt to Gentilini's scholarship is evident) serves as a useful guide to the visitor. A rather summary guide⁴ to the works of the Della Robbia family in Arezzo and its environs, in churches and museums, from large-scale altarpieces to small votive pieces, provides testimonies to the Della Robbia family's long-lasting fame and to its Florentine workshop in the via Guelfa.

¹ G. Gentilini: exh. cat. *I Della Robbia e l'"arte nuova" della scultura invetriata*, Fiesole (Basilica di S. Alessandro) 1998.

² *Idem: I Della Robbia: La scultura invetriata nel rinascimento*, Florence 1992.

³ Catalogue: *I Della Robbia. Il dialogo tra le Arti nel Rinascimento*. Edited by G. Gentilini with the collaboration of L. Fornasari. 413 pp. incl. 131 col. + numerous b. & w. ills. (Skira, Milan, 2009), €44. ISBN 978-88-572-0030-9.

⁴ Catalogue: *Guida agli itinerari robbiani nella provincia di Arezzo*. Edited by L. Fornasari in collaboration with G. Gentilini, eds.: 192 pp. incl. 149 col. ills. (Skira, Milan, 2009), €19. ISBN 978-88-572-0145-0.

Fra Angelico

Florence and Rome

by ANNE LEADER

THE FLORENTINE PAINTER, illuminator and Observant Dominican friar Giovanni da Fiesole, known as Fra Angelico, has been the subject of much attention over the last four years.¹ A small, focused show, *L'Angelico ritrovato*, at the Museo Nazionale di S. Marco, Florence (closed 26th April), celebrated the return to Florence of two small panels depicting Dominican *beati*² originally from the pilasters of the dismembered S. Marco altarpiece (Fig.68). The exhibition and accompanying catalogue³ offered new technical information about the manufacture of the altarpiece, one of Angelico's greatest achievements and one of the most important



68. *Beatified Dominican*, by Fra Angelico. c.1438–43. Tempera and gold leaf on panel, 13.1 by 39.1 cm. (Cassa di Risparmio, Florence; exh. Museo Nazionale di S. Marco, Florence).



69. *Blessed and Damned*, by Fra Angelico. c.1433–34. Tempera on panel, each wing 13.5 by 46 cm. (On deposit, Museum of Fine Arts, Houston; exh. Palazzo dei Caffarelli, Musei Capitolini, Rome).

early Renaissance altarpieces, and also provided a variety of hypotheses as to how it was originally constructed. Three components were shown at the end of Michelozzo's library to suggest how the painting might have appeared on the high altar of S. Marco. This long view made it possible to appreciate Angelico's stunning depiction of space using perspectival orthogonals that converge at the Virgin's breast. The newly cleaned *beati* were shown apart from the altarpiece, thus avoiding favouring any of the six suggested reconstructions. The historical and interpretive catalogue essays drew on the work of Stefano Orlandi and William Hood, and the show's novelty lay in the various technical analyses of the five exhibited panels by the team of conservators at the Opificio delle Pietre Dure, shedding light on their state of preservation, construction and technique. The promise of a more extensive conservation for the main panel is both worrying, considering the damage already inflicted by an early cleaning, and exciting, in view of the discoveries yielded by the recent careful intervention.

A more ambitious show is on view at the **Palazzo dei Caffarelli, Musei Capitolini, Rome** (to 5th July). Intended to be the largest monographic exhibition on the artist in Italy since that held in 1955 at the Vatican and in Florence,⁴ *Beato Angelico: L'Alba del Rinascimento*, brings together fifty works, some of which have never been exhibited before.⁵ As the curators themselves acknowledge, one might wonder why another exhibition on the artist is needed so soon after the 2005 show in New York, but it includes several large paintings not exhibited there.

With no surviving documents regarding his birth or apprenticeship and little in the way of

contracts or payment records, Angelico's early life, training and workshop practice are still the subject of debate. Probably born in 1397,⁶ he was first recorded in 1417 when he enrolled in the Florentine Confraternity of St Nicholas at S. Maria del Carmine as the lay painter Guido di Piero. The curators of the present show suggest he trained in the orbit of Gherardo Starnina and Masolino da Panicale rather than with Lorenzo Monaco, as more convincingly argued by Laurence Kanter,⁷ but the exhibition clearly demonstrates how Angelico was responsive to numerous artists while developing his own style.

Three seemingly heterogeneous works represent his earliest career: the *Thebaid* (c.1420; Uffizi, Florence; cat. no.1), the *Penitent St Jerome* (c.1420; Princeton University Art Museum; no.2) and the *Madonna di Cedri* (c.1423; Museo Nazionale, Pisa; no.3). Gerardo de Simone draws attention to the Christ Child's strongly foreshortened halo and complex pose in this last work, showing the picture's correspondences to the upturned face of the St Jerome and to slightly later works that reveal Angelico's proximity to Masaccio, exemplified by two small panels of the *Nativity* and *Agony in the garden* (Pinacoteca Civica, Forlì; no.6), displayed to show their faux-porphyr backs;⁸ a predella panel of the *Beheading of the Baptist and feast of Herod* (Musée du Louvre, Paris; no.7)⁹ and the *Stigmatisation of St Francis* (Vatican Museums; no.8). The rarely seen triptych wings showing the *Blessed* and the *Damned* (no.11; Fig.69), although still in their nineteenth-century frame which reverses their proper display, are of high quality and intriguing iconography, including the very inventive portrayal of the damned, cascading into a pit of fire in a hellish concatenation.

The first part of the exhibition culminates in the stunningly displayed *Paradise* (Uffizi, Florence; no.13) paired with a *Virgin of humility* (Museo Nacional, Barcelona; no.16) that shares its lavish use of brilliant ultramarine blue. The curious appearance of the *Annun-*

ciation from Dresden (no.15) is explained by diagrams in the catalogue that show it to be a later reconfiguration of two pinnacles. The Montecarlo *Annunciation* (no.9) and the Cortona triptych (no.10) are both installed too low (one must crouch to admire their predellas). The curators are justified in their insistence on the Cortona triptych's high quality and extensive contributions by Angelico,¹⁰ though their repeated use of the term 'autograph' obscures the complicated and unresolved nature of Angelico's work with collaborators, an especially difficult question with regard to the *Annunciation*, which seems to have been begun around 1432 for a Servite church in Brescia, only to be completed later for the convent at Montecarlo.

This section of the exhibition includes the enigmatic double-sided octagonal panel, the subject of a compelling essay (pp.103–07) by Miklós Boskovits (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; private collection; nos.17 and 18). The comparison of its recto to the *Virgin and Child with Sts Dominic and Catherine of Alexandria* (Vatican Museums; no.19) raises questions about the former's autograph status.¹¹ The *Stigmatisation of St Francis and martyrdom of St Peter Martyr* (Fig.70) is a curious painting of unknown provenance, which received lengthy praise from Cavalcaselle and Crowe but little attention since.

The fourth and fifth galleries explore Angelico's later career, with a few works included to suggest Angelico's wider circle of collaborators. The highlights are the recently cleaned Corsini triptych (no.27) hung opposite the panel from the Annunziata Silver Chest with the same subjects (Museo di S. Marco, Florence; no.33). Less convincing is the inclusion of *The Man of Sorrows with episodes of the Passion* (no.25), a work on parchment that seems more correctly identified, as it has been in the past, as a copy after Angelico. Two rarely seen painted crosses, one missing its *corpus* (Museo Benedettino, Nonantola; no.30), the other a reconstructed pastiche (Museo Civico, La Spezia; no.31) do little to help our



70. *Stigmatisation of St Francis and martyrdom of St Peter Martyr*, by Fra Angelico. c.1436–37. Tempera on panel, 43.8 by 24.3 cm. (Strossmayerova Galerija, Zagreb; exh. Palazzo dei Caffarelli, Musei Capitolini, Rome).

understanding of his workshop and collaborative practice.

The penultimate gallery focuses on the large processional banner now kept at S. Maria sopra Minerva (no.29), often given to Gozzoli, but here to Angelico himself despite its damaged surface and certain losses. The attribution is convincingly supported by infrared reflectography undertaken for the exhibition, which revealed numerous stylistic affinities with Angelico. A fresco fragment of the face of Christ, often given to Gozzoli, is here proposed as the only known survivor to Angelico's lost Roman frescos (Palazzo Venezia, Rome; no.26).

The show concludes with a group of nine illuminated books and six drawings by Angelico and his collaborators. Angelico's work as a draughtsman is poorly understood, given the few surviving works. The necessarily low lighting makes it difficult to see them, and one must rely on the essay and catalogue entries by Lorenza Melli to assess her attributions to Angelico and Gozzoli.

The handsomely illustrated catalogue contains fifty entries; fifteen wide-ranging essays including Giorgio Bonsanti's useful chronology and a review of other thorny problems; a discussion of Angelico's critical reception by Gianni Carlo Sciolla and Ilaria Miarelli Mariani; interpretation by Mattia Patti and Gerardo de Simone of new infra-red reflectography investigations that reveal Angelico to be an artist of few pentimenti; and notes by Paola Mangia on the Corsini triptych's recent restoration. The history of Angelico's workshop production, and indeed of Florentine painting practice in general, remains to be written. It is hoped that the next generation of historians will take up these and other questions, following the stated wishes of the exhibition's curators 'to inaugurate a new phase of research' (p.19) and drawing inspiration from this beautiful show in Rome.

¹ Proceeds of the conference, *Il Beato Angelico, il suo tempo, la sua eredità*, held in Rome, 8th–9th June 2006, have been published as A. Zuccari, ed.: *Angelicus pictor: Ricerche e interpretazioni sul Beato Angelico*, Milan 2008. Recent exhibitions include L. Kanter and P. Palladino: exh. cat. *Fra Angelico*, New York (Metropolitan Museum of Art) 2005; reviewed by William Hood in this Magazine, 148 (2006), pp.146–49; and M. Scudieri and S. Giacomelli: exh. cat. *Fra Giovanni Angelico: pittore miniaturista o miniaturista pittore?*, Florence (Museo di S. Marco) 2007–08; reviewed by Carl Strehlke in this Magazine, 150 (2008), pp.208–09.

² Discovered in an English private collection in 2006 by Michael Liversidge, they were bought in 2007 by the Florentine antiquarian Fabrizio Moretti and then by the Polo Museale Fiorentino and the Cassa di Risparmio di Firenze.

³ Catalogue: *L'Angelico ritrovato: Studi e ricerche per la Pala di San Marco*. Edited by Cristina Acidini and Magnolia Scudieri. 144 pp. incl. 165 mostly col. ills. (Sillabe, Livorno, 2008), €20. ISBN 978–88–8347–480–4.

⁴ M. Salmi, U. Baldini and L. Berti et al., eds.: exh. cat. *Mostra delle opere del Beato Angelico nel quinto centenario della morte (1455–1955)*, Vatican City (Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano) and Florence (Museo di S. Marco) 1955.

⁵ Catalogue: *Beato Angelico: L'Alba del Rinascimento*. Edited by Alessandro Zuccari, Giovanni Morello and Gerardo de Simone. 304 pp. incl. 253 col. +

17 b. & w. ills. (Skira, Milan, 2009), €70. ISBN 978–88–572–0119–1.

⁶ Maurizio Calvesi in *ibid.*, p.21, suggests that Vasari misread a '5' as a '6' when he gave Angelico's age at his death as sixty-eight, which placed his birth date in 1387. A birth date in 1397 would render him twenty when he enrolled in the painters' confraternity, a typical age for an artist to start his career.

⁷ Kanter and Palladino, *op. cit.* (note 1), pp.4–5.

⁸ The Forli panels are widely accepted as autograph, although their date is debatable; here they are dated c.1428.

⁹ Kanter and Palladino, *op. cit.* (note 1), p.104, gives the Louvre predella to Zanobi Strozzi, c.1445. While its surface is abraded, De Simone is correct in his assertion that the panel shows an attention to detail and facility with anatomy that point to Angelico.

¹⁰ The present curators reject Kanter's theory (*ibid.*, p.240) that the Cortona triptych is a later variation (c.1440–45) on the Perugia (Guidalotti) altarpiece (c.1437–38) by an unnamed assistant to Angelico.

¹¹ Kanter's assessment (*ibid.*, pp.214–17) that the panels are by a collaborator seems correct, although his identification as Benozzo Gozzoli and dating to the late 1440s, rather than c.1435–37 as Boskovits suggests, remain open questions.

inspiration of Ruskin; the involvement of women artists; and the evolution of the Arts and Crafts movement around the second generation of Pre-Raphaelites led by Burne-Jones and William Morris.

Thanks to the competing demands of a number of rival shows – Toronto's Holman Hunt, the Tate's Millais and Orientalist exhibitions, among others – Stockholm had difficulty in securing many crucial loans; but with the help of some important and willing private collectors, as well as the Tate and Birmingham City Art Gallery, it nonetheless managed to put together a group that reasonably effectively told the story. Millais was impressively represented by *Isabella* (cat. no.27) and *The Black Brunswicker* (no.35); Holman Hunt fared less well, but *The scapegoat* was there (no.36), supported by *New College cloisters* (no.70; Fig.71), his fine portrait of John David Jenkins, Chaplain of the College, and the *Tuscan girl plaiting straw* (no.107), as well as the small replica of *May morning on Magdalen Tower* (no.37) from Birmingham. Ford Madox Brown was present with *The seeds and fruits of English poetry* (no.23), *Pretty baa-lambs* (no.76), *Waiting: an English fireside of 1854–55* (no.66), *Take your son, Sir!* (no.65) and the Birmingham replica of *Work* (no.57); Rossetti with a good group of early watercolours (Fig.73) together with several of his pen drawings, not to mention a fine row of stunners, a display amplified elsewhere in the show by female heads by Frederick Sandys, Kate Bunce and Frank Cadogan Cowper – the last two pushing the Pre-Raphaelite envelope somewhat.

Of the secondary figures, John Brett was present in *The hedger* (no.60) and a fine, relatively little-known watercolour of *The Wetterhorn, Wellhorn and Eiger, Switzerland* (no.102; Fig.72), Arthur Hughes in several

The Pre-Raphaelites

Stockholm

by ANDREW WILTON

THERE HAS BEEN a surge of interest in British art on the Continent in recent years. The splendid survey of eighteenth-, nineteenth- and twentieth-century paintings, drawings and sculpture in Ghent in 2007–08 offered a detailed picture that even the British found fresh and informative.¹ Ferrara has hosted a series of monographic shows, the Groninger Museum in the Netherlands has J.W. Waterhouse (not, surely, a prime candidate for export),² Stuttgart is touring Burne-Jones. The interest in the late nineteenth century was confirmed by the substantial exhibition *The Pre-Raphaelites at the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm* (closed 24th May), which tackled a demanding subject in a fresh way and pulled off a remarkable success.

Although the Pre-Raphaelites have hitherto been virtually unknown in Sweden, it is perhaps apt that Stockholm has taken the plunge: it seems that it was a Swedish artist, Egon Lundgren, who coined the term as early as 1841, describing Overbeck and his circle in Rome as 'Pre-Raphaelites, purists, Nazarenes or whatever they wish to call themselves'. Lundgren was in England from 1853, and enjoyed the patronage of Queen Victoria, although he did not adopt Pre-Raphaelite style or subject-matter, which by that date was getting into its stride on several fronts. The Nationalmuseum exhibition approached its material by carefully separating various themes: the concern with modern life; the interest in beautiful women; the relationship of the movement to photography and literature; its triumphs as a school of landscape and nature-painters under the

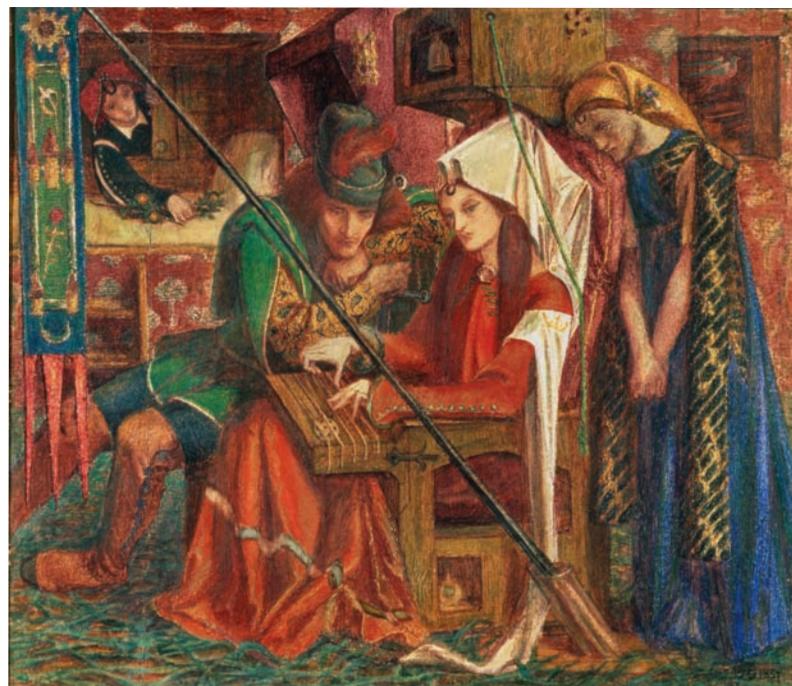


71. *New College cloisters*, by Holman Hunt. 1852. Panel, 35.6 by 25.4 cm. (Jesus College, Oxford; exh. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm).

works including his small but moving pair the *Annunciation* (no.38) and the *Nativity* (no.39). His *Home from sea* (no.64) was too important in this context to have been placed in a corner and overshadowed by Tom Hunter's large photograph paraphrasing its subject. Fortunately there was only one other example of this kind of modern gloss; Hunter's 'take' on Millais's *Ophelia*, which, however, was present here only as a print (by James Stephenson; no.55). By Simeon Solomon there was only *The painter's pleasure* (no.148), very like an early Rossetti Burne-Jones, and his striking *Self-portrait* of 1859 (no.10) from the Tate. There was a satisfactory showing of landscapes by Boyce, Inchbold, Davis, Williamson, John Samuel Raven and Charles Allston Collins, as well as Joanna Boyce, Rosa Brett and Anna Blunden.

On paper, the count seems somewhat meagre; but there were many fine smaller works, and the pictures were well displayed. They were hung on sensitively chosen colours and the labels were beautifully legible in a good William Morris typeface – how rare, nowadays, to find a designer who cares whether the type reflects the period and theme of the exhibition, let alone whether visitors can read the labels. The exhibition made a point of presenting the context in which the Pre-Raphaelites worked, especially the art of photography, which emerged at much the same moment and pursued similar goals. It is not unusual these days to find photography in such a context, but images by Hawarden, Cameron, Henry White, Benjamin Brecknell Turner and others were selected to make telling points against the paintings in several sections of the exhibition. There were even a couple of daguerrotypes taken by Ruskin, or under his direction (nos.99 and 100). The forerunners were given space too: not only late medieval painting, but the seminal prints of Lasinius and Retsch, Overbeck himself and the British Nazarene, William Dyce.

The concluding section on the applied arts and the emergence of the Arts and Crafts movement might have seemed a distraction;



73. *The tune of the seven towers*, by Dante Gabriel Rossetti. 1857. Watercolour, 31.4 by 36.5 cm. (Tate, London; exh. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm).

but it had relevance in Sweden, for it was in the field of textile and furniture design that British aesthetic ideas made most impact there. Morris fabrics and stained glass, de Morgan ceramics, Aesthetic chairs and book-covers can be seen to lead naturally to the work of that most Scandinavian of Swedish draughtsmen, Carl Larsson, whose clean, wholesome watercolours ended the show – amid pictures by Byam Shaw, Strudwick and Fortescue-Brickdale – that gave an irresistible impression that it was in Scandinavia rather than Britain that the more wholesome aspects of the Pre-Raphaelite movement took permanent root.

The Nationalmuseum has produced a handsome catalogue, in two editions, Swedish and English; the typefaces, in addition to Morris's 'Golden Type', are beautiful historic fonts.³ The exhibition was organised by the Museum's curator, Mikael Ahlund, whose introductory essay is supported by Martin Barnes on photography, Jan Marsh and Pamela Gerrish Nunn

on women artists, Judith Bronkhurst on the literary connection, Christopher Newall on landscape, Elizabeth Prettejohn on 'Pre-Raphaelite Beauty' and Julian Treuherz on modern life and on the decorative arts. With such a line-up of specialists, it makes a comprehensive and very approachable introduction not only to Victorian painting but to many of the high points of nineteenth-century visual culture in general.

¹ R. Hoozee and J. Gage, eds.: exh. cat. *British Vision: Observations and Imagination in British Art, 1750–1950*, Ghent (Museum voor Schone Kunsten) 2007–08.

² To be reviewed.

³ Catalogue: *The Pre-Raphaelites*. Edited by Mikael Ahlund. 248 pp. incl. 349 col. ills. (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, 2009), SEK 350. ISBN 978-91-7100-808-1; Swedish edition, ISBN 978-91-7100-808-4.

Martin Kippenberger

New York

by JOHN-PAUL STONARD

MARTIN KIPPENBERGER'S IMAGINED portrait *Die mutter von Joseph Beuys* ('The mother of Joseph Beuys'; 1984; Fig.76) is a tart dig at an artist with whom Kippenberger (1953–97) might otherwise be seen as having quite a few things in common. Both artists produced works that documented their lives; both insisted on installing them in exhibitions; and in both cases there are problems of display now that the touch of the magician is gone. As the first American retrospective of Kippenberger's work, seen by this reviewer at the **Museum of Modern Art, New York** (closed 11th May),¹ proved, the problem is less acute in the case of an artist who consistently undermined any sense of spiritual value,

72. *The Wetterhorn, Wellhorn and Eiger, Switzerland*, by John Brett.

1856. Watercolour and body-colour, 25.4 by 36.1 cm. (Private collection; exh. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm).





74. Installation view of *The happy end of Franz Kafka's 'Amerika'*, by Martin Kippenberger. 1994. Mixed media, furniture, slide projectors, television monitors, green flooring with white lines and tiered stands. (Galerie Gisela Capitain, Cologne; exh. Museum of Modern Art, New York).

attacked conventions of taste with vigour and treated politics as an excuse for spectacular incorrectness. But what also emerged was the weakness of the 'relational' interpretation of Kippenberger's work, the idea that he occupied numerous aesthetic positions, offering a catalogue of all possible options in a given medium (a position also often spuriously attributed to Gerhard Richter).² By dissolving the individual work in a field of infinite possibilities and 'utter negation',³ it becomes impossible to offer judgment on individual works, some of which are certainly better than others, and in turn to provide a lasting account of their value. Now that 'Kippy' is gone, and his milieu dispersed, this clearly becomes an ever more pressing matter.

The striking display of paintings, which dominated a show in which sculptures and installations were crowded into relatively small galleries, demonstrated time and again that Kippenberger's journey into bad taste was a matter of subject-matter rather than style and technique. His first set of monochrome 'photographic' paintings, made in Florence, are accomplished paraphrases of the work of Gerhard Richter, showing the origins of Kippenberger's engagement with kitsch and anti-heroic subject-matter. They also show quite simply that he could paint, in that he had a feeling for the medium and a varied and interesting way of deploying it. The photographic 'look' was to resurface in the well-known set of paintings that Kippenberger commissioned from a commercial artist, the *Liebe Maler, male mir* series, which lack interest precisely because they were 'outsourced'. The

paintings he made himself during 1984–85 show, by contrast, how good he could be; *Nicht zu Hause schlafen müssen* ('Not having to sleep at home'; 1984), for example, or the memorable *Ich kann beim besten Willen kein Hakenkreuz entdecken* ('With the best will in the world I can't see a swastika'; 1984), with its overtones of late Picabia, and its sinister presence in the collection of Friedrich Christian Flick. It shows a jumble of angular forms in garish colours that do not resolve themselves, as the title suggests, into a swastika. Crassly titled yet

fascinating is *The modern house of believing or not* (1985; Fig.75), a messy depiction of Frank Lloyd Wright's Guggenheim Museum building. The affinity with Max Beckmann – for example in the way the clouds are painted – may or may not be intentional, but shows just how stylish Kippenberger could be.

The major sculptural work *The happy end of Franz Kafka's 'Amerika'* (1994; Fig.74) was presented separately from the main body of the exhibition in the Museum's elevated atrium. On a sports-green surface, marked as if for a game, a sprawling series of bizarrely configured tables and chairs refers, as the title makes clear, to Franz Kafka's description in his novel *Amerika*, or *Der Verschollene* ('The Missing Person'), to an episode recounting the recruitment of the hero, Karl Rossmann, to an unexplained 'Nature Theatre of Oklahoma'. There is neither explicit nor hidden meaning, but rather the sense of some strange adventure conducted according to an impeccable and impenetrable dream logic. Kippenberger's title echoes rather than compensates for Kafka's story, which is indeed unfinished and devolves into disconnected fragments, tailing-off relatively happily as Rossmann finds employment. Kippenberger is on record that he never finished reading Kafka's novel, which raises the question of whether he actually started it, and how much one can really draw parallels between the book and the sculpture.

Formally, *The happy end* is reminiscent of the bricolage constructions of Daniel Spoerri or Martial Raysse, for example, but the scale of ambition and the cranky theatricality are pure Kippenberger. A chance was passed over in the catalogue for a detailed material examination of this work, which utilises furniture by designers such as Eames, Gehry and Thonet, and incorporates African sculpture and those by the artist himself. It was first shown in Rotterdam in 1994. The MoMA display was more cramped than the



75. *The modern house of believing or not*, by Martin Kippenberger. 1985. Canvas, 180 by 225 cm. (Deutsches Architekturmuseum, Frankfurt am Main; exh. Museum of Modern Art, New York).



76. *Die mutter von Joseph Beuys ('The mother of Joseph Beuys')*, by Martin Kippenberger. 1984. Canvas, 160 by 133 cm. (Gaby and Wilhelm Schürmann, Herzogenrath; exh. Museum of Modern Art, New York).

showing at Tate Modern in 2006 or at Stockholm in 1998 and Hamburg the following year, and a reminder of the Gothic dimensions of MoMA, far taller than it is wide. These restraints led to one very regrettable omission from the exhibition: in 2007 the Museum purchased the large sculpture *METRO-net transportable subway entrance (Crushed)* (1997), the only portable version of Kippenberger's projected design for a worldwide subway system. It turned out to be too large to move into the Museum. Elsewhere the *Peter* sculptures, made by Kippenberger's assistant Michael Krebber, were tightly packed into a gallery and impossible to relate to, a particular shame in the case of the great homage to Rainer Werner Fassbinder, made in the form of a jagged mirrored screen.

Among Kippenberger's most productive innovations were the hotel drawings, kitsch or lurid designs on hotel writing paper, rendered in an assiduous but illustrative technique. They are an endlessly fascinating exploration of what the purchased privacy of a hotel room allows, and a comment on the ability of private wealth to mask moral turpitude. If much of his work can be seen as a meditation on the limits of the permissible in a newly democratic country, then the hotel drawings suggest, in celebratory mode, that privatised spaces still exist for what you will.

If in many of his works Kippenberger takes bad taste to its extreme and in doing so implies the opposite, a type of double failure by which a hidden aesthetic is conveyed, then one of his final projects, an excruciatingly pathetic homage to Gericault's *Raft of the Medusa*, goes the extra leg back into failure and stays there. Using a series of photographs that he had taken of himself posing as characters on Gericault's raft, but appearing rather washed-up, as though having missed the last tram home, Kippenberger developed a series of prints, drawings and paintings in

which he seems striving for some kind of tragic, classic expression. At first it may seem that his fine ear for cliché was at work, and that he was thinking of the countless recreations of the raft by end-of-year student groups reflecting on the fruitlessness of an arts education. Yet an examination of the photographs, drawings and paintings Kippenberger created for his meditation reveal a rather unnerving seriousness (the essence of all bad poetry, according to Oscar Wilde), and leads to the vertiginous, and perhaps typically Kippenbergerian thought that this time he actually meant it.

¹ Martin Kippenberger: *The Problem Perspective* was first shown at the Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles (21st September 2007 to 5th January 2008), where it was curated by Ann Goldstein. The MoMA installation was curated by Ann Temkin. Catalogue: *Martin Kippenberger: The Problem Perspective*. With contributions by Diedrich Diederichsen, Ann Goldstein, Pamela L. Lee and Ann Temkin and an interview with Martin Kippenberger by Jutta Koether. 288 pp. incl. 250 col. ills. (Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles; with MIT Press, Cambridge MA, 2007), £26.95. ISBN 978-1-933-75109-2.

² See, for example, G. Baker: 'Out of Position', *Artforum* (February 2009), pp. 142–51.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

Romantic and academic drawing which had been discredited by Modernism.

It was around that time that the medium attracted the interest of the collector and philanthropist Harvey S. Shipley Miller. He is the sole trustee of the Judith Rothschild Foundation, and sits on MoMA's Board as well as on its Drawings Committee, and he decided to assemble a collection of contemporary drawing with the aim of donating it to a New York museum. As a guide, he engaged the curator Gary Garrels, who was then based at MoMA, and in only two years, between 2003 and 2005, they amassed 2,500 works by 650 artists. It was formally accepted into MoMA's holdings in May 2005. This new show, *Compass in Hand: Selections from The Judith Rothschild Foundation Contemporary Drawings Collection* (to 27th July), organised by Christian Rattemeyer and Connie Butler, is the first time the collection has been explored in depth, and although it includes little more than ten per cent of the collection, it is the largest drawings show ever mounted at the Museum.

The catalogue that Bernice Rose produced to accompany her 1976 exhibition looked back to the Early Renaissance in accounting for the new interest in drawing. She explained how, since then, drawing had been 'both a poetic and a scientific discipline'; how it was both *disegno* – a work of design that was intellectual as well as practical and material in character – and what Rose called 'graphological disclosure', 'an autographic (indeed biographical) revelation'. Garrels and Miller only collected work dating back to the 1930s, and the overwhelming proportion of it is of more recent vintage, but they held on to that conceptual framework, and one can see examples of both strains in the new show. In fact, the artists included in the earlier shows

Contemporary drawings at MoMA

New York

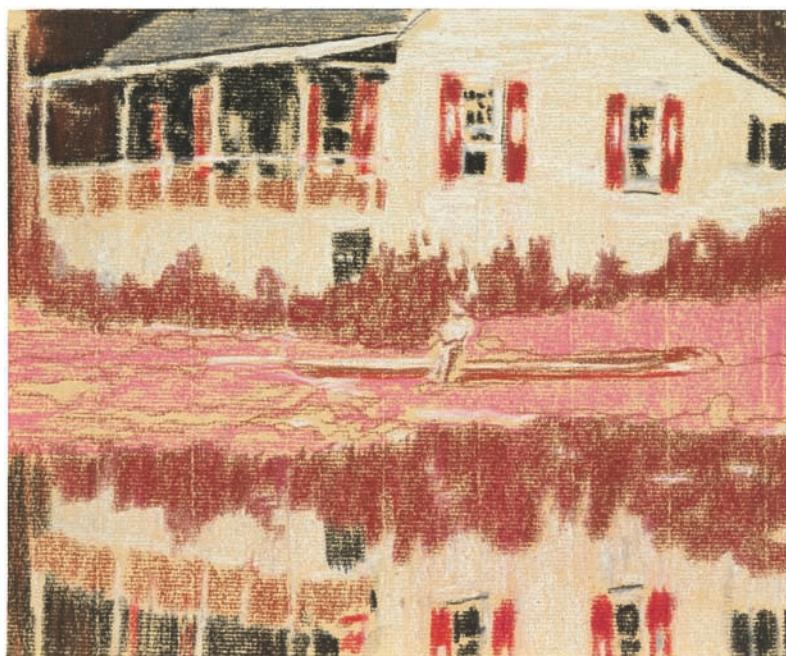
by MORGAN FALCONER

DRAWING HAS EXPERIENCED a remarkable resurgence in the last fifty years. It may no longer make sense to talk of a hierarchy of media but, if – at least in critical terms – sculpture toppled painting in the 1960s, one could argue that drawing is the most powerful contender of the new century. At present, it is the least historically and theoretically encumbered, which gives its practitioners freedom and verve, and yet, increasingly, it is also generating a body of discourse to rival the intellectual armoury that once defended Modernist painting.

The **Museum of Modern Art**'s first serious examination of contemporary drawing was *Drawing Now*, curated by Bernice Rose in 1976. That exhibition was occasioned by the need to recognise the increased importance of the medium in the work of conceptual and process-oriented artists of the late 1950s and 1960s. Drawing is thought to have gone into hibernation in the 1980s, but it returned in the following decade with the spread of new figurative and narrative tendencies. Hence, in 2002, Laura Hoptman curated *Drawing Now: Eight Propositions*, which included artists like Neo Rauch, Elizabeth Peyton and Kara Walker, and recognised a return to fantasy and finish, characteristics of nineteenth-century



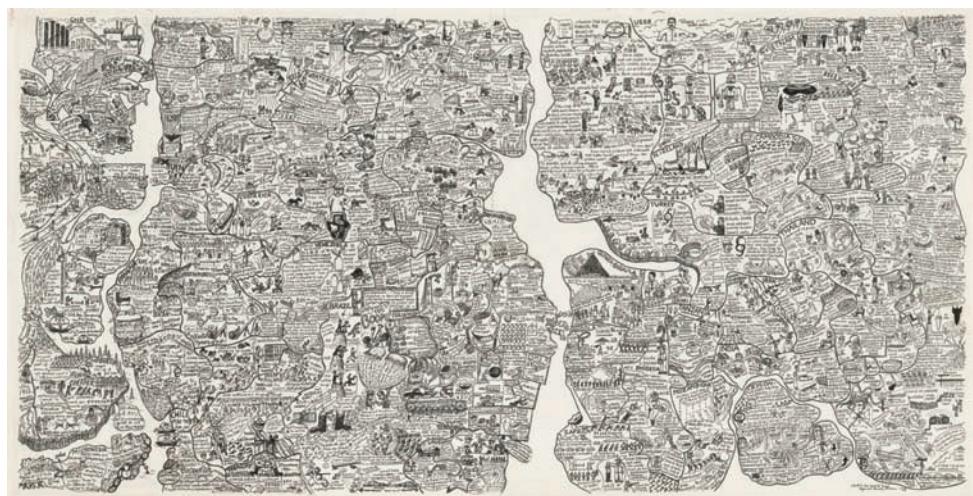
77. *Forest worker*, by Georg Baselitz. 1966. Chalk and pencil on paper, 44.5 by 32.1 cm. (Judith Rothschild Foundation Contemporary Drawings Collection, Museum of Modern Art, New York).



78. *Camp Forestia*,
by Peter Doig.
1996. Pastel on
paper, 20 by 24.1
cm. (Judith Roth-
schild Foundation
Contemporary
Drawings Collec-
tion, Museum of
Modern Art,
New York).

proved foundational, yet, proceeding with the benefit both of the broader scope that a collection affords and of hindsight, Garrels and Miller sought to locate predecessors in the 1960s and 1970s for Hoptman's recent generation of figurative artists, as well as descendants of Rose's generation of conceptual and process-oriented artists. Thus, to complement figurative drawing by younger German artists like Kai Althoff and Neo Rauch, who were included in Hoptman's show, they collected Georg Baselitz (Fig.77), A.R. Penck and Jörg Immendorf. They had ambitions to describe certain national and local contexts: New York, Los Angeles, Great Britain (in particular London and Glasgow) and Germany (in particular Berlin, Cologne and Düsseldorf). This was an ambitious goal and could only be met thinly, yet their coverage of the figurative tradition in recent British art is delineated in drawings by Lucian Freud, Frank Auerbach, Richard Hamilton and Peter Doig (Fig.78), among others, which is a sound, representative selection.

Garrels's and Miller's interest in fleshing-out the contexts around the two previous shows led them back to the dying days of Abstract Expressionism, and this has enabled Rattemeyer and Butler to open the new exhibition with a work by Cy Twombly (albeit very recent) that feels like a bold claim to drawing's expanded territory. *Untitled* (2001) is a floral eruption of reds, yellows and pinks, and its dominant accent is painterly, yet it is also a work on paper and – categorically important – it contains cut and collaged paper. Garrels and Miller believe that collage has become increasingly important in drawing since 2000. They are certainly correct, though they were probably drawn to this notion for its historical appeal. If collage first entered the vocabulary of Modernism via painting, it has, since the 1960s, taken on a broader connotation to describe a method as much conceptual as practical. Meanwhile, the common-sense understanding of a collage as a work on paper, still has force, and one senses that Garrels and Miller liked the idea of facilitating



79. *Sketch for world map*, by Öyvind Fahlström. 1972. Ink on paper, 20 by 24.1 cm. (Judith Rothschild Foundation Contemporary Drawings Collection, Museum of Modern Art, New York).

a process whereby drawing might step forth to reclaim collage as a process that was always its own. Certainly, some of the most recent work included in the new show as exemplars of collage in drawing might, at an earlier time, have found themselves in surveys of painting. Kelley Walker's *Black star press: black star, black star press, star* (2004) is a digital print on canvas which employs as its foundation an image, thrice repeated, of a scene very similar to that used in Warhol's *Birmingham race riot* (1964); it is overlain with silkscreened gestural scrawls of chocolate.

The breadth of the Rothschild Collection is undeniably impressive. Yet therein lies its weakness, and if *Compass in Hand* lends it focus, the sprawl still shows through. Rattemeyer and Butler have been faithful to the framework of the collection in exploring both the terms of the previous shows by Rose and Hoptman and the various local contexts. However, they do not explicitly declare what their concerns are in each of the thirteen rooms. One can understand their reluctance, in an endeavour which must be in part speculative, but the groupings can still feel unhelpful. One may sense a theme of mapping or world-description in room three, but its grouping of Hanne Darboven, Marcel Broodthaers, Öyvind Fahlström (Fig.79) and various stars of Arte Povera seems merely eclectic. If the show is an excellent exploration of the range of recent drawing, it is weak in explaining *why* drawing has become so significant, and essentially this is the fault of the collection.

The catalogue¹ contains a revealing interview with Garrels and Miller, in which Miller describes MoMA's internal discussions on whether to acquire the collection as having become at one point 'radioactive'. More diplomatically, Garrels presents this as a discussion over whether the goal of the Museum should be to collect 'masterpieces' or whether it might be open to the 'range of what's being made at a particular time'. But some clearly suspected that Miller's whims had had more weight in decision-making than Garrels's sober judgment. Certainly, the two offer no substantial explanation of why the collection concentrates on particular centres of production, and one concludes that these cities are simply the accessible stamping grounds of the current market. Garrels willingly admits that the collection has weaknesses, yet one understands why, ultimately, MoMA's Board voted unanimously to accept this gift. If in 2002 the collection might have seemed like an indulgent shopping spree, by 2005, when the market was over-heating, it was apparent to all that, like early-birds quick to the sale, Garrels and Miller had got some unrepeatable bargains.

¹ Catalogue: *Compass in Hand: Selections from the Judith Rothschild Foundation Contemporary Drawings Collection*. Essay by Christian Rattemeyer. Interview with Harvey S. Shipley Miller and Gary Garrels. 320 pp. incl. 254 col. illus. (Museum of Modern Art, New York, 2009), \$65. ISBN 978-0-87070-745-2.

Judd; Irwin; Oursler

New York

by JAMES LAWRENCE

THE ABILITY TO FOCUS ON what we encounter is a necessary condition of sustained inquiry, but it is only the beginning. In addition to our perceptions, we also possess the apperceptual capacity to incorporate the implications of those perceptions into the self. This gives experience its continuity, which in turn gives us the capacity to learn. Artistic conventions rest on this capacity. Conventions also rely on consensus, a shared agreement about meaning that trumps – or even determines – the immediate response of an individual. Mid-century anxiety about totalitarianism and social coercion prompted scepticism of consensus, scepticism that led directly to significant innovations in Abstract Expressionism and successive movements. In addition to political and philosophical concerns, it is easy to see why artists might wish to create works that can breed familiarity without contempt. Given the right conditions, the viewer can ‘make it new’ from moment to moment. A great deal of post-War art represents various positions in the continuing debate about what those conditions might be.

The exhibition *Donald Judd: Colored Plexiglas*, at L&M Arts, New York (closed 25th April),¹ showed how attention to the deepest reserves of inherent properties can blend snappy immediacy with contemplative allure. Nine of Judd’s lucid objects quickened the stately gallery space, allowing complex harmonies to develop without sacrificing individual tones. The theme of the show helped in this respect, not only by focusing attention on the particulars of colour and light, but also because Plexiglas thoroughly suited the principles that Judd espoused. Plexiglas accelerated the departure of depictive conventions from his mature style. The material made apparent the sharp distinction between applied and intrinsic properties, most notably in relation to colour. Coloured Plexiglas is tinted during the manufacturing process, and this given colour suited Judd’s distrust of artifice.

Artists began to carve, twist and paint acrylic glass shortly after its invention in the early 1930s. Judd, on the other hand, preferred it in its ‘found’ (that is, factory-produced) sheet form and merely cut it to size. He first used Plexiglas in an untitled floor piece from 1963 known as DSS 38 (Fig. 81).² Flat red oil paint and rich violet – colours from opposite ends of the colour spectrum – and contrasts of reflected and transmitted light enrich the ostensibly straightforward construction. The Plexiglas element is entirely visible or entirely obscured. No view reveals only part of the Plexiglas: it is all or nothing. The low profile of the work invites concerted attention by drawing the line of sight downwards and away from the horizontal, synoptic view. Each of Judd’s objects



80. *Verizon*, by Tony Oursler. 2009. Aqua resin and gesso, video projection, 61.6 by 165.1 by 130.8 cm. (Exh. Metro Pictures, New York).

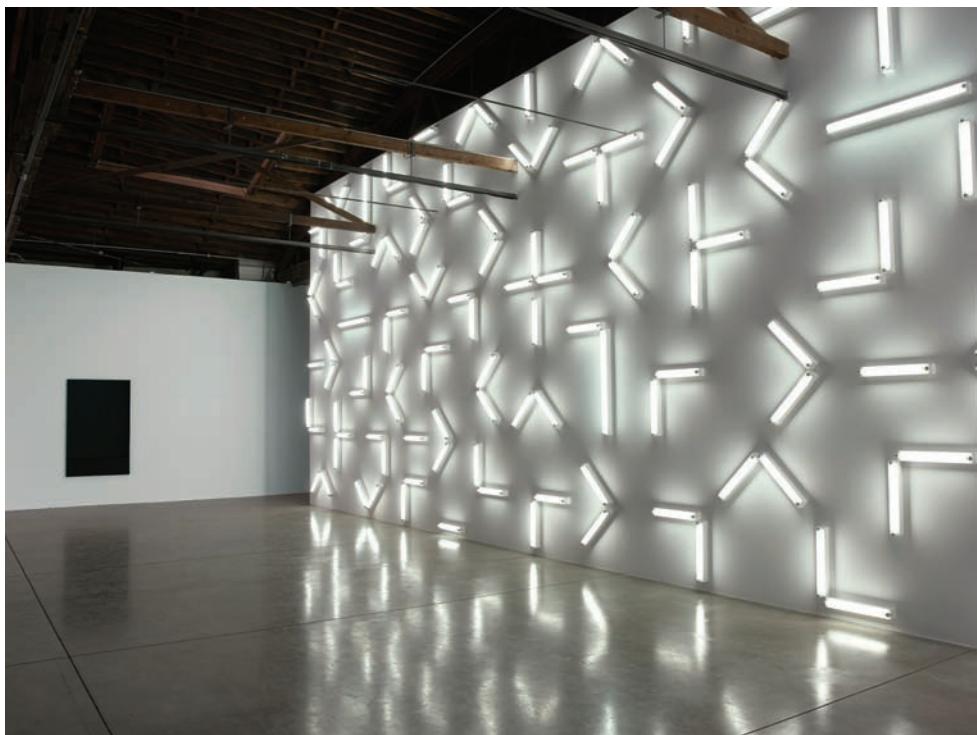
seems to occupy fully the time that the viewer devotes to it.

Over time, Judd began to use Plexiglas as a surrogate for paint. He layered two different sheets to produce a third tint and used opaque sheets as a backing field. One key difference between paint and Plexiglas is a matter of tense. Paint implies potential, the composition that it might become. Plexiglas, however, arrived in Judd’s studio fully realised as a substance. Viewers are free to engage directly with a real object in real and present space instead of being distracted by the artist’s actions and choices in an unknowable past. Judd’s preferred materials reinforce a sense of perfect-tense completion. The viewer begins with what is present and proceeds accordingly.

Despite the visual crispness of Judd’s objects, they never seem entirely immaculate. Where there is a space or void, as there is between the elements of a ‘stack’ piece or inside a floor-box, the urge to explore the object visually becomes inseparable from the need to find an appropriate physical position from which to do so. Judd was craftily aware of the conflict between desire and taboo. He once suggested that the unpainted Douglas-fir plywood he favoured invites a caress the way a baby panda does. The plywood wall-box in this exhibition possessed that invitingly warm surface, but Judd’s tongue-in-cheek point makes sense because it acknowledges the connection between the instinct to touch and the concomitant judgment about whether or not to do so. For Judd, judgment required direct



81. Installation view of *Donald Judd: Colored Plexiglas* at L&M Arts, New York, featuring (from left to right) Untitled (1966; DSS 89), Untitled (1963; DSS 38) and Untitled (1988).



82. Installation view of Robert Irwin: *Red Drawing White Drawing Black Painting* at PaceWildenstein, New York, featuring (from left to right) *Black painting with blue edge* (2008–09) and *White drawing* (2008–09).

engagement without recourse to habits that might or might not be valid.

Robert Irwin has also devoted his career to a deep investigation of viewership, but his approach differs from Judd's in its focus on the nature of perception. A little more than a year after Irwin first exhibited a geometric field arrangement of fluorescent tubes as part of a retrospective in San Diego,³ the exhibition *Red Drawing White Drawing Black Painting*, at **PaceWildenstein, New York** (closed 28th February), tested the approach in a dedicated space. Upon entering the gallery, viewers encountered an expanse of white fluorescent tubes arranged with fragmented geometry on a temporary wall (Fig. 82). Behind that wall, at the back of the gallery, a similar arrangement in red fluorescent tubes dispensed a volcanic glow. Black paintings on metal, hanging perpendicular to the fluorescent murals, served as assertive objects or reflective surfaces depending on viewing aspect.

The fragmented geometry of the fluorescent tubes succeeded in deterring stable visual readings. In keeping with Irwin's Abstract Expressionist roots, the fields of lights hinted at boundlessness. They are too insistently present to foster the kind of perceptual wandering that Irwin provokes when he employs scrim and other restrained materials. Configurations of fluorescent tubes inevitably invite comparisons with the work of Dan Flavin. Irwin manages to preserve atmospheric effects that Flavin's installations tend to overwhelm. Instead of the thermal barrage and incessant electrical hum of Flavin's larger pieces, for example, Irwin's installation offered a more delicate blend of sensory stimuli that varied impressively as one roamed the gallery. Whether or not this approach possesses

the lasting value of Irwin's earlier practices depends on whether such a generalised sensory blend can be parsed or otherwise given some kind of meaningful structure. There is no doubting the validity of the project as a whole. The real question is whether the fluorescent installations genuinely condition a given space in a way that tells us something that we do not already know. At this point, the results are intriguing rather than earth-shaking.

A lively exhibition of recent works by Tony Oursler raised more troubling questions about the nature of experience. *Cell Phones Diagrams Cigarettes Searches and Scratch Cards*, at **Metro Pictures, New York** (closed 11th April), comprised fourteen mixed-media pieces that trenchantly exposed the grim vacuity of widespread compulsions. Video projectors superimposed images of smouldering cigarettes onto PVC tubes standing as high as the visitors who wandered among them. A giant model of a cellphone (Fig. 80) disgorged fragments of conversation reminiscent of the nonsense that private conversations become when overheard in public. A few wall pieces took their cues from internet searches and the disjointed layering of browser windows on computer screens. A dialogue, delivered by two miniature figures projected separately onto an architectural model of a house, asserted the importance of human contact.

The common thread was the erosion of the public–private distinction and the attenuation of social bonds as a result of technology and systems that claim to revive them. Gambling with scratchcards is different from a day at the races, a cellphone conversation is seldom private and advice that helps an individual does not withstand generalisation. Human contact

requires more than the facile stimuli and explanations that minor vices and self-help bromides can offer. Oursler's humane sense of humour kept the potential cruelty of this exhibition in check. Nonetheless, the crowded yet eerily barren signification on display was difficult to dismiss as cultural lampooning.

Like the Pop art from which it takes its formal cues, Oursler's show had a pronounced element of satire. Effective satire threatens to undermine values that, when examined, reveal their intrinsic flaws. Effective art is no less intrepid in questioning the interpretive and perceptual habits that bolster our sense of self in the world. As with satire, the quest for useful values must be made over and over again as the world continues to change. The phenomena that Oursler explored point to a seismic shift not only in social relations, but also in the experience of public and private states of being. As we struggle to understand isolation, solitude, ubiquity and connectedness in this environment, artists such as Judd, Irwin and Oursler help us to find the appropriate terms. That is a good start.

¹ Peter Ballantine, who worked as Judd's assistant for many years, curated this exhibition; a catalogue with an essay by Ballantine is forthcoming.

² DSS numbers identify all works by Donald Judd executed up to 1974. These numbers refer to entries in the incomplete catalogue raisonné that accompanied the exhibition *Donald Judd*, at the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, in 1975. The letters derive from the initials of the contributors to this catalogue: Dudley Del Balso, Brydon Smith and Roberta Smith. Examples of DSS 38 were executed in 1963, 1969, 1975 and 1988.

³ Reviewed by Christopher Bedford in this Magazine, 150 (2008), pp.139–41.

Yves Saint Laurent

Montreal and San Francisco

by LYNNE COOKE

WHEN, IN 1983, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, staged a retrospective of the work of Yves Saint Laurent, it was the first time that the venerable institution had devoted a solo show to a living designer. That the French couturier was then a mere forty-seven years old made the event even more remarkable. Hailed a genius in the accompanying publication and press release, Saint Laurent had had a meteoric career from the moment he assumed charge of the Maison Dior at the age of twenty-one, following the premature death of its founder. Saint Laurent's celebrated first collection for Dior in 1958 was greeted by crowds dancing in the streets, for he had supposedly single-handedly rescued the couture industry from demise. (At that moment the Maison Dior accounted for more than fifty percent of the trade's international sales.) A brief stint of compulsory military service led to a nervous breakdown, compounded by his dismissal from Dior.

However, within four years he had founded his own house, and three years later, in 1965, with his collection of Mondrian-inspired cocktail dresses (Fig.83), he had regained pre-eminence in the field. In these ultra-modern svelte designs he epitomised the chic youthful 1960s look. In the following years he consolidated this with more Pop-inspired dresses, pea coats and, above all, the first of his signature 'le smoking' (tuxedo) trouser-suits which embodied for women the confidence, classic style and elegance integral to the traditional tailored suits of their male counterparts. With the first Rive Gauche boutique devoted to prêt-à-porter he effectively became a household name. Henceforth the street not only reflected the impact of his exclusive designs but his style, in turn, was deeply influenced by what first burgeoned there by younger fashionistas. As this unprecedented imbrication undermined the exclusivity and elitism of haute couture, the singular form and identity it had evolved over the course of the twentieth century was radically revised. Tellingly, Cristobel Balenciaga, perhaps the greatest stylist ever, closed his house in 1968 rather than enter the prêt-à-porter market.

In the useful and informative catalogue published to accompany the Metropolitan's 1983 survey show, Yves Saint Laurent stated that Dior's New Look invented instant world-wide fashion. Thereafter, Dior was under constant pressure to reinvent, while Balenciaga, by contrast, 'was serenely perfecting a style'. 'Balenciaga and Dior were the two great poles of talent when I arrived in Paris', Saint Laurent recalled. 'Dior was the more brilliant and theatrical, and that counted a lot for me', he confessed. He continued: 'In the years since I left that house I've grown



84. Marina Schiano in evening gown, by Yves Saint Laurent. Autumn/Winter 1970. Wool crepe with a lace back. (Estate of Jeanloup Sieff; exh. de Young Museum, San Francisco).

more and more wary of fashion, more and more engrossed by style [...] Fashion is a kind of vitamin for style. It stimulates you, it gets you going. But there's a risk of overdose'. Hindsight suggests, however, that he often failed to heed his own warnings.

With such perennial staples as the 'smoking', pea coats and safari jackets, Saint Laurent shaped the chic informality that would dominate women's daily wear thereafter, while imparting an aura of theatrical costuming to his evening wear (Fig.84). Beginning with the Spring/Summer season that featured heavily beaded 'African' dresses, and followed by, *inter alia*, a homage to traditional Russian garb in 1975, and chinoiserie in 1977, an ethnic look was to become the thematic lodestar of many future seasons. In addition to designing four collections annually, Saint Laurent frequently created the wardrobes for film, theatre and dance productions, among the most notable of which were Catherine Deneuve's in *Belle de Jour* (1967). That proclivity for the theatrical, which he had initially identified with Dior, not only informed his later ethnically based revivals but meant that he never approached the model which Balenciaga had offered of 'serenely perfecting a style'. From the 1970s onwards, a restless, relentless programme of variation, change and novelty prevails in place of radical reinvention. By the early 1980s, young designers were emerging in Antwerp and Tokyo who were to fundamentally deconstruct the norms of contemporary fashion, but no hint of that incipient revolution ruffled the Metropolitan's triumphalist paean to the doyen of the couture industry.

Originating at the Musée du Beaux-Arts, Montreal, in 2008 and recently seen at the **de Young Museum, San Francisco** (closed 5th April), this latest retrospective *Yves Saint-Laurent* became, with Saint Laurent's death last year, the first posthumous overview of the

most widely acclaimed designer of the past half-century. Unfortunately, it failed to provide an adequate survey of his diverse and prolific production. Highlighting the more spectacular side of his *œuvre*, such as the far too many gowns designed in homage to renowned artists such as Braque, Warhol and Matisse, it lacked a clear trajectory, thus obscuring his most significant innovations, and the ways that so many of his staples have entered fashion's enduring lexicon. Nor is any critical apparatus evident in the accompanying catalogue which is little more than a picture book featuring a plethora of sketches.¹ The sale last December of the collection of artworks and artefacts from cultures world-wide which Saint Laurent had formed over decades with his former companion and business manager, Pierre Bergé, aroused enormous anticipation. The record-breaking prices fetched by many of its treasures attest in part to the aura of glamour that still surrounds his legendary name.² A substantial show, based on a probing scholarly thesis that examined Saint-Laurent's *œuvre* in depth, would not only be a service to this field but, very likely, a huge hit with the public. Since the Metropolitan's landmark show complex shifts and fragmentations have sundered the borders of couture's once tightly patrolled and highly exclusive domain. Saint Laurent's formative role in this sea change has not yet been fully revealed.

¹ Catalogue: *Yves Saint Laurent: Style*. By Hamish Bowles and Florence Mueller. 258 pp. with 180 col. + 20 b. & w. ills. (Abrams, New York, in association with Foundation Pierre Bergé-Yves Saint Laurent, 2008), \$50 (HB). ISBN 978-0-8109-7120-8.

² For a taste of Saint Laurent's and Bergé's domestic style and collections, see: *The Private World of Yves Saint Laurent and Pierre Bergé*. By Richard Murphy and Ivan Terestchenko. 280 pp. incl. 200 col. ills. (Thames & Hudson, London, 2009), £60 (HB). ISBN 978-0-500-514818.



83. Cocktail dress (tribute to Mondrian), by Yves Saint Laurent. Autumn/Winter 1965. Woollen jersey. (Foundation Pierre Bergé-Yves Saint Laurent; exh. de Young Museum, San Francisco).

Calendar

London

176. Works by the Newcastle-based artist Matt Stokes are on view here to 28th June.

Alan Cristea. Large prints by Howard Hodgkin are on display to 11th July.

Albion. Works by Vito Acconci; to 13th June.

Also here an exhibition of work by the Algerian artist Kader Attia; to 9th June.

Annely Juda. Twenty-eight landscape and portrait prints by David Hockney created using Photoshop are on display here to 11th July.

Barbican. The exhibition *Radical Nature. Art & architecture for a changing planet, 1969–2009* explores artistic responses to nature and climate change, and includes works by the architectural collective Ant Farm, and by younger artists such as Simon Starling and Luke Fowler; from 19th June to 20th September.

Ben Uri Gallery. An exhibition of some 150 drawings by Jacques Lipchitz runs here to 26th July.

Boundary Gallery. *In praise of humanity, a tribute to Josef Herman* provides a survey of the Polish émigré's work; to 4th July.

British Museum. *Shah 'Abbas: the Remaking of Iran*, reviewed on p.409 above, runs to 14th June.

Garden and Cosmos: The Royal Paintings of Jodhpur, seen previously in Washington and Seattle and reviewed in the April issue, runs here to 23rd August.

Medals are best known for celebrating important figures or heroic deeds, but the exhibition *Medals of Dishonour* features examples that condemn their subjects; 25th June to 27th September.

Browne and Darby. Paintings by Anthony Fry (to 12th June) are followed by British and French paintings, drawings and sculpture; 17th June to 25th July.

Calvert 22. Works by contemporary Russian artists; to 14th June.

Camden Arts Centre. An exhibition of new and recent works by Michael Raedecker runs to 28th June.

Courtauld Gallery. *Beyond Bloomsbury: Designs of the Omega Workshops 1913–19* unites the Gallery's collection of working drawings from the Omega Workshops with examples of the textiles that it produced; 18th June to 20th September; to be reviewed.

Crane Kalman. Rarely seen works by Winifred Nicholson are on view from 4th June to 25th July.

Daniel Katz. A loan exhibition organised by Julian Barran celebrates Diaghilev's Ballet Russes and its first performance, a century ago, in Paris; portraits, designs and photographs are on view, with a focus on Larionov and Goncharova; to 8th June.

Design Museum. The exhibition *Super Contemporary* celebrates design in London with fifteen specially commissioned works; to 4th October.

Dulwich Picture Gallery. *Sickert in Venice* closes on 7th June. Works by the Polish artist Antoni Malinowski are on display from 16th June to 27th September.

Estorick Collection. Some 100 photographs from the RIBA British Architectural Library collection comprise the exhibition *Framing Modernism: Architecture & Photography in Italy 1926–1965*; on view to 21st June.

Fleming Collection. Works of art from the collection selected by Tim Cornwell, arts correspondent for *The Scotsman*, are on view to 27th June.

Gagosian Gallery. Works by Mark Grotjahn will be on view in *Britannia Street*; to 31st July.

Hauser & Wirth. Works by David Claerbout are on display at 196A Piccadilly; to 1st August.

Imperial War Museum. *Unspeakable: The Artist as Witness to the Holocaust* runs here to 31st August.

ICA. The exhibition *Poor. Old. Tired. Horse.* explores text-based works by artists such as Carl Andre and Frances Stark; from 17th June to 25th August.

Karsten Schubert. Paintings by Robert Holyhead; to 17th July.

Lisson Gallery. Works by the Berlin-based British artist Jonathan Monk; to 13th June.

Matts Gallery. A new video and sound installation by Richard Grayson, *The Golden Space City of God*, is on view here from 13th May to 28th June.

Mayor Gallery. Recent works by the Venezuelan artist Carlos Cruz-Diez; to 18th July.

National Gallery. A modified version of the exhibition charting the influence of old-master and 19th-century painting on Picasso, seen earlier in Paris and the subject of the Editorial in the December issue runs here to 7th June; it was reviewed in the April issue. A display of 13 Picasso prints coincides with the show.

National Portrait Gallery. The exhibition devoted to John Constable's portraits, runs here to 14th June (then at Compton Verney; 27th June to 6th September). It was reviewed in the May issue.

Orel Art. Curated by Margarita and Victor Tupitsyn, the inaugural exhibition of Ilona Orel's London gallery at 9 Howick Place, specialising in contemporary Russian art, will show works by Andrei Molodkin; to 12th June.

Parasol Unit. *Parades and Processions: Here comes everybody* shows work by eleven contemporary artists who use the theme of parades; to 24th July.

Queen's Gallery. *French Porcelain for English Palaces: Sévres from the Royal Collection*; to 11th October (Fig.85).



85. Pot-pourri vase and cover. Sévres manufactory, 1758–59. Soft-paste porcelain; gilt-bronze stand, 51.2 cm. high. (Royal Collection; exh. Queen's Gallery, London).

Raven Row. Works by Thomas Bayle, Ann Lislegaard and the collective Ultra-red; to 2nd August.

Royal Academy. In the Madejski Fine Rooms works from the RA's permanent collection examine *High Art: Reynolds and History Painting* and the loan of W.P. Frith's *Private view at the Royal Academy, 1851* (1883), shown with other late Victorian paintings; to 29th November.

Prints by Kuniyoshi from the Arthur R. Miller collection are on display to 7th June.

Panoramic watercolours by the Royal Academician Adrian Berg are displayed to mark the artist's 80th birthday; to 11th June.

A major retrospective of work by J.W. Waterhouse comprises some 40 paintings as well as sketchbooks and drawings from collections worldwide; from 27th June to 13th September; to be reviewed.

This year's summer exhibition runs from 8th June to 16th August.

Saatchi Gallery. *Abstract America: New Painting and Sculpture* is on view here to 13th September.

St Paul's Cathedral. Paintings by G.F. Watts from the collection of the Watts Gallery; to 30th July; it was reviewed in the April issue.

Serpentine Gallery. Films by Luke Fowler; to 14th June.

Sir John Soane's Museum. The exhibition devoted to George Scharf, reviewed on p.412 above, runs to 6th June.

Immagini e memoria – Rome in the photographs of Father Peter Paul Mackey 1890–1901 is on view here from 19th June to 19th September.

South London Gallery. Sculptures by Marie Cool and Fabio Baldacci are exhibited to 28th June.

Sprüth Magers. Works by Andreas Schulze are on view to 28th August.

Tate Britain. A collections display recreating William Blake's only one-man exhibition, mounted by the artist in his brother's shop in Golden Square in May 1809, runs to 4th October; to be reviewed.

An in-focus display shows works by Polish Symbolist artists alongside their British contemporaries; to 21st June.

Works spanning four decades by Richard Long, including new wall-based works, comprise an exhibition running to 6th September.

A commissioned work by Eva Rothschild for the Duveen Galleries is unveiled on 29th June.

Tate Modern. Seen earlier in Paris and Rome, the exhibition of Futurism, the first large survey of the movement in Britain for over thirty years, which includes a reconstruction of the 1912 Futurist exhibition that travelled from the Galerie Bernheim in Paris to the Sackville Gallery in London, runs here from 12th June to 20th September; to be reviewed.

An exhibition of works by the Danish artist Per Kirkeby, spanning four decades, is on view here from 17th June to 12th September.

Victoria and Albert Museum. The ambitious exhibition exploring the Baroque runs here to 19th July; it is reviewed on p.367 above.

A Higher Ambition: Owen Jones (1809–74) traces Jones's contributions to Victorian design reform, from his studies of Islamic decoration at the Alhambra Palace, through to his designs for the 1851 Great Exhibition building, the publication of the *Grammar of Ornament* and his influence in the founding of the South Kensington Museum; to 22nd November.

Waddington. Paintings by Peter Halley; 3rd to 27th June.

Whitechapel Gallery. Inaugural exhibitions of the recently reopened Gallery include the first major retrospective of work by the German sculptor Isa Genzken (to 21st June). Works from the British Council Collection, selected by Michael Craig-Martin, focusing on works purchased early in an artist's career, are exhibited to 14th June.

White Cube. At Hoxton Square, seven paintings and a large sculptural installation by Raqib Shaw; at Mason's Yard, an exhibition of work by Tracey Emin; both to 3rd July.

Whitfield Fine Art. A retrospective of painting, drawing and sculpture by Thomas Nathaniel Davies is on view here to 19th June.

Great Britain and Ireland

Barnard Castle, Bowes Museum. *Canaletto and the View Painters of Venice* puts into context the Museum's two famous large Canalettos acquired in 1980; to 27th July.

Bath, Victoria Art Gallery. New sculptures and wire drawings by Sophie Ryder are on display to 10th June.

Birmingham, Ikon Gallery. An exhibition of work by Giuseppe Penone is on view to 19th July.

Birmingham Museum & Art Gallery. *Matthew Boulton – Selling What all the World Desires* marks the bicentenary of Boulton's death; to 27th September; to be reviewed.

Brighton Museum and Art Gallery. Seen earlier in London and Nottingham, and reviewed in the September 2008 issue, *The American Scene: Prints from Hopper to Pollock*, can be seen here to 31st August.

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum. *Endless Forms: Charles Darwin, Natural Science and the Visual Arts*, seen previously in New Haven, runs here from 16th June to 4th October.

Cambridge, Kettle's Yard. A group show of work by eight contemporary artists includes pieces by Claire Barclay and Wade Guyton; to 12th July.

Cardiff, National Museum. The exhibition *Sisley in England and Wales*, reviewed in the February issue, runs here to 14th June.

Compton Verney. *Georgian Portraits: Seeing is Believing* is an exhibition of works from the Holburne Museum of Art, Bath, by artists including Thomas Barker, Arthur Devis, Angelica Kauffmann, Allan Ramsay, Henry Raeburn, George Stubbs and Richard Cosway; to 13th December.

Cookham, Stanley Spencer Gallery. 2009 marks the fiftieth anniversary of Stanley Spencer's death. The Gallery's own collection is augmented with works on loan from Tate Britain; to 1st November.

Dublin, Irish Museum of Modern Art. The first exhibition in Ireland of paintings by the American artist Elizabeth Peyton; to 21st June.

A survey of works by Terry Winters from the past decade; from 12th June to 27th September (Fig.86).

Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland. The exhibition devoted to Thomas Roberts, reviewed on p.415 above, runs to 28th June.

From Raphael to Rossetti: Drawings from the Collection; to 23rd August.

Dundee, Contemporary Arts. A group exhibition of contemporary art, *The Associates*, is part of the DCA's 10th Anniversary Exhibitions programme; to 21st June.

Edinburgh, Dean Gallery. The collections exhibition *Alive with Innovations. Paolozzi's Beginnings* includes brutalist sculptures, drawings and proto-Pop art collages by Paolozzi that show the diverse sources of inspiration and modes of expression employed by the artist during the 1950s; to 30th June.

Edinburgh, Fruitmarket Gallery. Films and photographs by Willie Doherty; to 12th July.

Edinburgh, Inverleith House. Works by Cerith Wyn Evans are on view to 5th July.

Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland. Previously in Ferrara, *Turner in Italy* runs to 7th June; to be reviewed.

Robert Adam's Landscape Fantasies: Watercolours and Drawings from the Permanent Collection; to 2nd August.

Edinburgh, Queen's Gallery. An exhibition tracing the history of the 'conversation piece' through works from the Royal Collection; to 20th September (then in London).

Edinburgh, Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art. Works by Hirst, Celmins, Gallagher, Katz, Woodman and Warhol selected from some 700 works comprising the 'Artist Rooms' acquisition are displayed here as part of an inaugural series of 'Artist Rooms' across the country; to 8th November.

Works by international contemporary artists from the collections of Charles Asprey and Alexander Schröder; to 19th July.

Kendal, Abbot Hall Art Gallery. *Gary Fabian Miller: Time Passage* is on display here to 20th June.

Leeds Art Gallery. The latest in a series of touring exhibitions curated by artists, commissioned by the Hayward Gallery, *Mark Wallinger Curates: the Russian Linesman*, is here to 28th June; the London showing is reviewed on p.414 above.

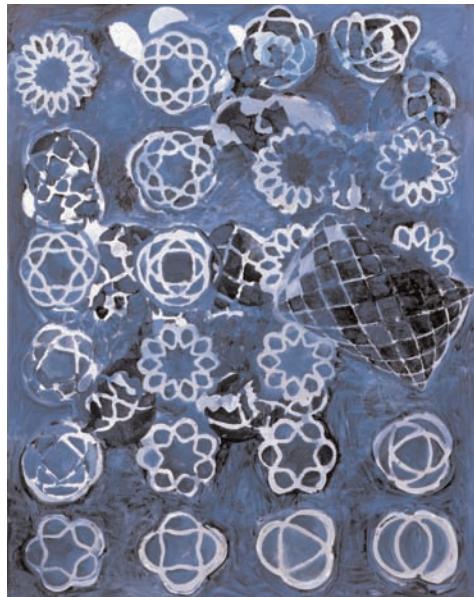
Leeds, Henry Moore Institute. *The New Monumentality: Gerard Byrne, Dominique Gonzalez-Foerster and Dorit Margreiter* explores the attraction of modern post-War buildings for the three artists; to 30th August.

The archive of the Public Art Development Trust, acquired by the Institute in 2005; to 30th August.

Leeds, Temple Newsam House. Drawn from the collections of Leeds Art Gallery, the exhibition *Watercolour Masterpieces: Turner and his Contemporaries* runs to 1st November.

Lismore Castle Arts. An exhibition curated by Philippe Pirotte comprises works by Stefan Brüggemann, Rita McBride, Corey McCorkle, Jason Rhoades and Ai Weiwei; to 30th September.

Liverpool, Tate. Seen earlier in New York, the exhibition *Colour Chart: Reinventing Colour, 1950 to Today* is on view here to 13th September.



86. *Tangle*, by Terry Winters. 2008. Oil on linen, 224 by 173 cm. (Collection of the artist; exh. Irish Museum of Modern Art, Dublin).

Margate, Turner Contemporary. The exhibition *Sound of Music*, drawing on the collection of the FRAC Nord-Pas de Calais, Dunkirk, explores the connections between art, music and sound, featuring works by a range of contemporary artists; to 14th June.

Milton Keynes Gallery. Works by James Lee Byars (1932–97) selected from the recent retrospective at the Kunstmuseum, Bern, comprise an exhibition running here to 21st June (then in Detroit).

Norwich, Sainsbury Centre. Polish art is celebrated in two exhibitions: *An Impossible Journey. The Art and Theatre of Tadeusz Kantor*, and an exhibition of contemporary art from Poland, both running to 30th August; to be reviewed.

Oxford, Museum of Modern Art. An international group show on the theme of 'disrupted transmissions' runs to 21st June.

Penzance, Penlee House Gallery & Museum. The exhibition *Wild Cornwall* shows works by artists alongside scientific specimens examining the county's flora and fauna; to 13th June.

St Ives, Tate. A summer exhibition combining works by seven fine and applied artists, from Alfred Wallis (1855–1942) to Katy Moran (b.1975), runs to 27th September.

Salisbury, Roche Court, New Art Centre. A selection of large bronzes by Barry Flanagan is on view in the sculpture park, accompanied by smaller sculptures, prints, drawings and early ceramics; to 6th September.

Sheffield, Graves Art Gallery. An exhibition of work by Henry Moore, Barbara Hepworth and Ben Nicholson from the 1930s; to 29th August.

Sunderland, Northern Gallery for Contemporary Art. *Rank: picturing the social order 1516–2009*, seen earlier in Leeds, examines how artists have represented the shape of society from the Renaissance to the present, on show here to 11th July (then in Blackpool).

Swansea, Glynn Vivian Art Gallery. An exhibition of contemporary art from South Asia includes work by more than 50 'emerging' artists; to 5th July.

Windsor, Windsor Castle, Drawings Gallery. An exhibition marking the 500th anniversary of Henry VIII's accession to the throne includes works by Holbein; to 18th April 2010.

York Art Gallery. Drawing on the Arts Council Collection and that of the Gallery, an exhibition examining the work of artists from St Ives from the 1930s to the 1960s runs here to 27th September.

Europe

Aix-en-Provence, Musée Granet. An exhibition exploring Picasso's debt to Cézanne; to 27th September.

Amsterdam, Hermitage. The opening exhibition at this revamped and expanded outpost of the Hermitage explores life and art at the Russian court in the 19th century; 20th June to 31st January.

Amsterdam, Rembrandthuis. The monographic exhibition devoted to Jan Lievens, seen earlier in Milwaukee and Washington and reviewed in last month's issue, runs here to 9th August.

Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum. *Van Gogh and the Colors of the Night*, seen earlier in New York and reviewed in the February issue, runs here to 7th June.

Odilon Redon and Emile Bernard explores the collection of Andries Bonger (1861–1936) which was acquired by the Dutch State in 1996 and given to the Museum on long-term loan; to 20th September.

Antibes, Musée Picasso. The exhibition *Picasso 1945–1949: l'ère du renouveau* runs to 14th June.

Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten. An exhibition explores the 'Grotesque' through works by Goya, Redon and Ensor; to 14th June.

Arezzo, Museo Statale d'arte Medievale e Moderna. An exhibition devoted to the Della Robbia family shows their work alongside that of their contemporaries from Ghilberti to Rustici; many works are shown in the churches to which they belong in Casentino and the Val d'Arno; to 7th June; reviewed on p.416 above.

Asti, Palazzo Mazzetti. An exhibition of 17th- and 18th-century sacred wooden sculpture; to 18th October.

Barcelona, CaixaForum. *Andrea Palladio: His Life and Legacy*, seen earlier at Vicenza and London, runs here to 6th September. The London showing was reviewed in the March issue.

Barcelona, Museu Picasso. Seen earlier in Montreal and reviewed in the April issue, the retrospective of works by Kees van Dongen can be seen here from 11th June to 27th September.

Barletta, Pinacoteca De Nittis, Palazzo della Marra. Landscapes south of Rome by painters spanning De Nittis to Fattori; to 2nd August.

Basel, Fondation Beyeler. A comprehensive survey of works by Giacometti is on view here to 11th October.

Basel, Kunstmuseum. *Vincent van Gogh. Between Earth and Heaven: The Landscapes* comprises some seventy paintings and offers a complete survey of the artist's works in the genre; to 27th September.

Basel, Museum für Gegenwartskunst. The in-focus exhibition *Little Theatre of Gestures* explores the role of theatricality in art; to 15th August.

Bassano del Grappa, Museo Remondini. The remarkable collection of prints assembled by the Remondini family of printers includes works by Schongauer, Dürer, Titian and Rembrandt among others; to 4th October.

Bergamo, Galleria d'Arte Moderna e Contemporanea. Curated by Giacinto Di Pietrantonio, the *Esposizione Universale* confronts old masters from the Accademia Carrara with 20th-century and contemporary works; to 26th July.

Bergamo, Palazzo della Provincia. Russian icons from the Tretyakov Museum, Moscow; to 14th June.

Berlin, Berlinische Galerie. *John Heartfield - Zeitaufschlitz* shows photomontages made between 1918 and 1939; from 28th May to 31st August; to be reviewed.

Berlin, Bode-Museum. *John Flaxman and the Renaissance* runs to 12th July; to be reviewed.

Berlin, Deutsches Historisches Museum. An exhibition exploring Calvinism in Germany and the rest of Europe runs here to 19th July.

Berlin, Gemäldegalerie. The exhibition *Robert Campin, the Master of Flémalle and Rogier van der Weyden*, previously in Frankfurt, runs here to 21st June; to be reviewed.

Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett. *The Art of Interpretation: Italian Reproductive Prints from Mantegna to Carracci*; to 14th June.

Berlin, Neue Nationalgalerie. A survey exhibition of work by Imi Knoebel, taking the artist's seminal *Raum 19* 1968 as a starting point; to 9th August.

Besançon, Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie. *Simon Vouet, the Italian years 1613–1627*, previously in Nantes, and reviewed in the March issue, runs here to 29th June.

Bielefeld, Kunsthalle. 1968: *The Great Innocence*; to 2nd August.

Bilbao, Guggenheim Museum. Following the artist's installations in the New York Guggenheim, Cai Guo-Qiang produces here a site-specific version of his exhibition *I want to believe*, running to 13th September.

Bilbao, Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao. *The Splendour of the Renaissance in Aragon* presents a selection of some 100 paintings, sculptures, drawings and objects on loan from the Museo de Zaragoza; 15th June to 20th September (then in Valencia and Zaragoza).

Bologna, MAMbo. Works by Sarah Morris and by Seth Price are here to 26th July.

Bonn, Kunstmuseum. The exhibition of Kandinsky's graphic work runs to 12th July; to be reviewed.

Bonn, Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle. Some 400 works comprise an overview of Czech photography of the 20th century; to 26th July.

A monographic show devoted to Amedeo Modigliani runs here to 30th August.

Bregenz, Kunsthaus. An exhibition of work by the German artist Lothar Baumgarten; to 21st June.

Bruges, Groeninge Museum. The ambitious exhibition on Charles the Bold runs here to 21st July (then in Vienna); to be reviewed.

Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts. An exhibition devoted to Alfred Stevens runs to 23rd August.

Caen, Musée des Beaux-Arts. See Rouen.

Cagliari, Centro Exma. An exhibition devoted to Marinetti runs here to 28th June.

Caldarola, Palazzo dei Cardinali Pallotta. The magnificent collection of Cardinal Giambattista Pallotta, which included works by Caravaggio, Reni, Guercino and Preti, was dispersed at his death in 1668 but is briefly reassembled in a show running to 12th November; to be reviewed.

Caserta, Royal Palace. Art at the Bourbon court at Caserta is the theme of an exhibition to 6th July.

Le Cateau-Cambrésis, Musée Matisse. An exhibition charting the reception of works by Matisse by artists in America and Europe from 1948 to 1968 is on display here to 14th June.

Cesena, Biblioteca Malatestiana. An exhibition chronicles the seizure of works of art following Napoleon's invasion of Italy and the efforts of Pius VII and Antonio Canova to repatriate them; to 26th July.

Cologne, Museum Ludwig. Drawings and watercolours by Maria Lassnig made from 1947 to the present are displayed to 14th June.

Large paintings by Lucy McKenzie (b.1977), displayed freestanding and evoking interior spaces, are on view to 26th July.

Jonathan Horowitz's film montage *Apocalypso Now* is on display in the Museum until 23rd August.

Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum. The exhibition *The Moon* includes paintings, drawings, prints and photographs, as well as astronomical instruments, that reflect the fascination that the moon has exerted on people throughout the ages; to 16th August.

Como, Villa Olmo. An exhibition devoted to Russian masters of the avant-garde, including Kandinsky, Malevich and Chagall; to 26th July.

Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst. Works by the German-born Danish sculptor Christian Lemmerz are on view to 6th March 2010.

Coruña, Palacio de Exposiciones. *The Hague School: Masterpieces from the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam* runs here to 21st June.

Cremona, Museo Civico Ala Ponzone. The suite of 347 prints made by Picasso between March and August 1968 is on show to 5th July.

Douai, Musée de la Chartreuse. An exhibition of paintings by Henri Martin (1860–1943); to 15th June.

Dresden, Japanisches Palais. Two of the oldest collections of antiquities outside Italy are being brought together in an exhibition of classical sculptures from the Museo del Prado and from Dresden's Skulpturenansammlung; to 27th September.

Dresden, Residenzschloss. Here and at the **Semperbau am Zwinger**, a monographic exhibition devoted to the life and work of Carl Gustav Carus; 26th June to 20th September (then in Berlin).

Düsseldorf, K21. The first solo exhibition in Europe by the Cuban-born, Los Angeles-based artist Jorge Pardo shows works from the past 15 years; to 2nd August.

Düsseldorf, Museum Kunst Palast. *On paper: our finest drawings: from Raphael to Beuys, from Rembrandt to Trockel* runs to 30th August.

Erfurt, Kunsthalle. An exhibition exploring artistic debates at the Bauhaus, part of the Bauhausjahr celebrations, runs here from 7th June to 2nd August.

Faenza, Palazzo Milzetti. *The Neo-classical Workshop* charts the rise of the academic nude study from the foundation of the Accademia de' Pensieri in Rome in 1790 to the establishment by Canova of the Accademia d'Italia in 1810; to 21st June.

Florence, Casa Buonarroti. A selection of Italian Renaissance drawings from the Rothschild collection in the Musée du Louvre, Paris; to 14th September.

Florence, CCCS, Palazzo Strozzi. The exhibition *Green platform* shows international artists' response to the crisis of global warming; to 19th July.

Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia. 91 of Robert Mapplethorpe's photographs of beautiful bodies are juxtaposed with Michelangelo's sculptures; to 27th September.

Florence, Museo delle Cappelle Medicee. On the fourth centenary of his death, Grand Duke Ferdinand I is commemorated in an exhibition running to 1st November.

Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello. *Bernini and the birth of the Baroque Portrait*, seen earlier in Los Angeles and Ottawa and reviewed in the March issue, has its last showing here to 12th July.

Florence, Palazzo Pitti, Galleria Palatina. *Pietro Benvenuti, Imperial painter at the court of Napoleon and the Lorraine family*; to 21st June.

Florence, Palazzo Pitti, Museo degli Argenti. The significance of Etruscan, Greek and Roman art for 19th- and 20th-century artists is explored in a show running to 12th July.

Florence, Uffizi. *Splendour and Reason: 18th-century Art in Florence* is a major exhibition of all the arts under the last of the Medici and the house of Lorraine; to 30th September.

Forlì, Museo di San Domenico. An exhibition of 160 works in all media by Canova and his contemporaries focuses on Canova's *Hebe* and shows three versions together with the Hellenistic *Dancer from Tivoli* that inspired it; to 26th June; to be reviewed.

Frankfurt, Schirn Kunsthalle. Works by the Polish artist Aleksandra Mir; to 26th July.

An exhibition promising a look 'behind the scenes of the contemporary art world', *The Making of Art*, is on view here to 30th August.

Frankfurt, Städel. *Caravaggio in the Netherlands. Music and Genre in the Work of Caravaggio and the Utrecht Caravaggists* includes some 40 paintings and juxtaposes works by Caravaggio with music and genre scenes by Dirck van Baburen, Gerard van Honthorst and Hendrick Terbrugghen; to 26th July.

Ghent, SMAK. A retrospective of works by Dara Birnbaum; to 2nd August.

Haarlem, De Hallen. *Sublime landscapes of Dutch romanticism*; 14th June to 30th August.

Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum. Dutch paintings from the Kremer collection, previously seen in Cologne and Kassel, are on show here to 14th June.

The Hague, Gemeentemuseum. Paintings by the Suriname artist Marcel Pinas (b.1971) comprise an exhibition running here to 21st June.

The Hague, Gemeentemuseum. An exhibition of work by three contemporary Indian artists, Jitish Kallet (b.1975), Riyas Komu (b.1971) and Sudarshan Shetty (b.1961) is on view here to 21st June.

The first of a bipartite exhibition focusing on European glass from 400 to 1900, drawn from the Museum's own collection, runs to 28th June.

Fauve and Expressionist painting from the Triton Foundation are exhibited to 6th September.

Hamburg, Bucerius Kunst Forum. Work by Edward Hopper is on view to 30th August.

Hamburg, Deichtorhallen. A survey exhibition of some fifty paintings and works on paper by Cecily Brown is on view here to 30th August.

Hamburg, Kunsthalle. The exhibition devoted to the Neo-classical painter Nicolai Abildgaard, seen previously in Paris, runs here to 14th June.

Hanover, Sprengel Museum. Photographs from the collection of the Cologne dealers Ann and Jürgen Wilde, on permanent loan to the Museum, comprise an exhibition running here to 30th August.

Le Havre, Musée Malraux. See Rouen.

Humlebaek, Louisiana Museum of Modern Art. An exhibition of recent acquisitions, 2007–08, including Jonathan Meese's *Dr Metabolists* (2008) is on view to 20th September.

Jena, Stadtmuseum. An exhibition documenting the connections between Jena and the Bauhaus, part of the 2009 Bauhausjahr celebrations; to 7th June.

Linz, Landesgalerie. The exhibition *Toulouse-Lautrec. Der intime Blick*, mounted in collaboration with the Musée Toulouse-Lautrec, Albi, explores the artist's depictions of modern life and the denizens of Montmartre; to 7th June.

Linz, Lentos Kunstmuseum. An exhibition surveying the life and work of the Bauhaus typographer Herbert Bayer is on view here to 2nd August.

Maastricht, Bonnefantenmuseum. Seen previously in Copenhagen, an in-focus display explores the Statens Museum for Kunst's recently restored *Tribute money: Peter finding the silver coin in the mouth of the fish* by Jacob Jordaens; to 14th June.

A display of the Rijksmuseum's six tapestries, with themes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, woven by Frans Spiering after designs by Karel van Mander, three of which were acquired in 2006; to 13th September.

The exhibition *Exile on Main St.* shows works by a number of artists, including Artschwager, Copley and Westermann, who stood out from mainstream American Pop art in the 1960s; to 16th August.

Madrid, CaixaForum. *Maurice de Vlaminck: a Fauvist Instinct. Paintings from 1900–1915*; to 7th July.

Madrid, Museo del Prado. A monographic show devoted to Joaquín Sorolla runs to 6th September.

Madrid, Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofia. A retrospective of works by Juan Muñoz is on view to 31st August.

The first comprehensive museum survey of works by Matthew Buckingham is on view here from 30th June to 28th September.

Madrid, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza. An exhibition focusing on the central period of Matisse's work, from 1917 to 1941 runs here to 20th September.

Madrid, Palacio Real. *Neo-classical taste: Charles IV as patron and collector*; to 19th July; to be reviewed.

Magny-les-Hameaux, Musée de Port-Royal-des-Champs. Drawings by Philippe de Champaigne, Jean-Baptiste de Champaigne and Nicolas de Plattemontagne are on show here to 29th June.

Marseille, Centre de la Vieille Charité. An exhibition of paintings by Bernard Buffet; to 7th June.

Martigny, Fondation Gianadda. Modern works from Courbet to Picasso from the Pushkin Museum, are on display here from 19th June to 22nd November.

Milan, Palazzo Dugnani. A show of works by Tacita Dean from the past ten years runs to 21st June.

Milan, Palazzo Reale. Twenty of Monet's late paintings are shown with 60 prints by Hokusai and Hiroshige from the Musée Guimet, Paris; to 27th September.

Milan, Spazio Oberdan. A survey show of contemporary Latin-American art runs to 4th October.

Munich, Haus der Kunst. A thematically organised overview of works by the sculptor Thomas Schütte, including watercolours, prints and photographs, can be seen here to 30th August.

Munich, Museum Brandhorst. Opened last month, this new museum houses the collection of American Modern and Contemporary Art, including a large collection of works by Cy Twombly, belonging to Udo and Anette Brandhorst.

Nantes, Musée des Beaux-Arts. *Ingres: works from the Musée de Montauban* runs to 7th June.

Naples, Museo Madre. An exhibition of paintings by Francesco Clemente focuses on the artist's relation to Italy, and culminates with the fresco *Ab Ovo*, made for the Museum in 2004–05; to 14th September; to be reviewed.

Nuremberg, Kunsthalle. A survey of paintings 1999–2009 by the expressionist painter André Butzer is on view here from 18th June to 23rd August.

Padua, Civici Musei agli Eremitani. An exhibition devoted to 16th- and 17th-century portraits in the Museum's collection, including works by Titian and Bassano among others, that show the city's intelligentsia and artistic elite, runs to 15th July.

Paris, Centre Georges Pompidou. Seen earlier in New York, the exhibition devoted to the work produced by Alexander Calder during his years in Paris, 1926–33, can be seen here to 20th July; to be reviewed.

Seen earlier in New York and Munich, the retrospective of works by Kandinsky runs here to 10th August; to be reviewed.

Works by Philippe Parreno are on view to 27th September.

Paris, Fondation Cartier. Exhibitions of paintings by the Brazilian artist Beatriz Milhazes, and photographs by William Eggleston; to 21st June.

Paris, Galerie des Gobelins. *Elégance et modernité 1908–1958* explores the use of fabric in furniture and applied arts in the first half of the twentieth century; to 26th July.

Paris, Grand Palais. *From Arcimboldo to Dalí: Double Images*; to 6th July.

A survey of Andy Warhol's commissioned portraiture from the 1970s and 1980s; to 13th July.

Paris, Musée Carnavalet. An exhibition devoted to the French Baroque architect Jules Hardouin Mansart runs here to 28th June.

Paris, Musée d'Orsay. *Around Lehmbruck: Sculpture from 1905–1919* is displayed to 14th June; to be reviewed.

Voir l'Italie et mourir. Photographie et peinture dans l'Italie du XIXe siècle; to 19th July; to be reviewed.

Paris, Musée du Louvre. An exhibition exploring the evolution of the altarpiece up to the early 15th century; to 6th July; to be reviewed.

The Gates of Heaven: Visions of the World in Ancient Egypt includes some 350 artefacts spanning the Old Kingdom to the Roman Period that symbolise the passage to the afterworld; to 29th June.

An exhibition of drawings by Laurent de La Hyre runs from 25th June to 2nd November. A display of drawings by Domenico Beccafumi is concurrent.

Paris, Musée du Luxembourg. *Filippo and Filippino Lippi: the Renaissance in Prato* runs here to 2nd August.

Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André. *The Italian Primitives – Splendours from the Altenburg Museum*; to 21st June.

Paris, Musée Quai Branly. Works by Matisse, Picasso and Man Ray are included in an exhibition documenting the relationship between art and jazz; to 28th June.

Paris, Musée Maillol. An exhibition of work by George Condo is on display here to 17th August.

Paris, Musée Rodin. Two exhibitions on the theme of portraiture, by Rodin and the contemporary British artist Gillian Wearing, run here to 23rd August.

Paris, Petit Palais. *William Blake: Le génie visionnaire du romantisme anglais*, drawn largely from British collections; to 28th June; to be reviewed.

Le Mont Athos et l'Empire byzantin: Trésors de la Sainte Montagne brings together more than 200 works of Byzantine art spanning the 9th to 18th centuries and originating in nine monasteries on Mount Athos; to 5th July.

Paris, Pinacothèque. 50 works each by Valadon and Utrillo are on show here to 15th September.

Ravenna, Museo d'Arte della città. *The travelling artist, from Gauguin to Klee, from Matisse to Ontani* explores the work of artists working outside Europe; to 21st June.

Rome, Casa di Goethe. An exhibition devoted to the Italian landscapes of Johann Martin von Rohden (1778–1868) runs here to 21st June; to be reviewed.



87. Frame with floral elements, angels' heads and the coat of arms of the Chigi family, by Antonio Chicari, called Il Pisano, probably after a design by Gian Lorenzo Bernini, c. 1650–75. Wood, carved, gilded and silvered, 98 by 105 cm. (Collection of the Prince of Liechtenstein, Vaduz–Vienna; exh. Liechtenstein Museum, Vienna).

Rome, Complesso del Vittoriano. *Giotto and the trecento* runs here to 28th June; to be reviewed.

Rome, Musei Capitolini. The monographic show devoted to Fra Angelico, reviewed on p.417 above, runs to 5th July.

Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts. An exhibition here and at the Musée Malraux, Le Havre, and the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Caen, explores 19th-century art inspired by Normandy; to 16th August.

Rovereto, MART. *Futurismo 100* explores the connections between Italian avant-garde art and that in Russia and Germany in the early 20th century; to 7th June.

Rovigo, Palazzo Roverella. *Deco: art in Italy 1919–1939* is on view to 28th June.

St Etienne, Musée d'art moderne de Sainte-Etienne. A retrospective of work by the Sarajevo-born artist Braco Dimitrijevic; to 16th August.

St Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum. *Masterpieces of Egyptian portraits from the Egyptian Museum in Berlin*; 16th June to 20th September.

The Blue and the Gold of Limoges. The Enamels of the XII–XIV Centuries; 19th June to 20th September.

Salem, Peabody Essex Museum. *Turmoil and Tranquillity: the Sea through the Eyes of Dutch and Flemish Masters, 1550–1700*, seen previously in London, is entirely made up of loans from the National Maritime Museum, London; 13th June to 7th September.

Salzburg, Museum der Moderne. A retrospective of work by Baselitz runs to 21st June.

Serra San Quirico, ex-Monastero di S. Lucia. *Pasqualino Rossi. La scoperta di un protagonista del Barocco* reassembles for the first time the work of this artist (1635–1722); to 13th September; to be reviewed.

Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie. A newly renovated wing of the Museum shows works from 1950 to the present, including, to 7th June, presentation of German Informel painting from the Museum's collection.

In the Stirling-Halle of the new Museum building, an exhibition of works by the Viennese Actionists is on display to 5th July.

Tourcoing, Musée des Beaux-Arts. An exhibition focusing on the Romanian roots of Dada, including works by Marcel Janco, Arthur Segal and Tristan Tzara; to 12th July.

Tours, Musée des Beaux-Arts. Mantegna's S. Zeno predella is reassembled; to 15th June.

Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio. A large-scale show of ancient Egyptian art, runs to 8th November.

Turin, Castello di Rivoli. Some eighty works by Thomas Ruff; to 21st June.

Turin, Fondazione Sandretto Re Rebaudengo.

Seen earlier in Liverpool, the exhibition of works by Glenn Brown runs here to 4th October.

Turin, Palazzo Bricherasio. An exhibition devoted to art from the age of Akhenaten runs to 14th June.

Turin, Palazzo Madama. *Baroque Feasts*, a loan exhibition of paintings, decorative art and books, celebrates ceremonies and pageants at the court of Savoy between 1500 and 1800; to 5th July.

Urbino, Palazzo Ducale. *Raphael and Urbino* includes paintings and drawings by Raphael, his father and others; to 12th July; to be reviewed.

Utrecht, Centraal Museum. An exhibition here explores how the Italian-inspired art of Jan van Scorel, influenced the Northern Renaissance; to 28th June.

Utrecht, Museum Catharijneconvent. *Mastery Manuscripts. The Middle Ages in gold and ink* is organised in collaboration with the Library of Utrecht University; to 23rd August.

Venice, Chiostro di S. Apollonia. S. Apollonia, patron saint of teeth, was the subject of some unexhibited drawings made by Andy Warhol in 1984; they are shown with recent works by Omar Galliani of the same saint; 4th June to 15th August.

Venice, François Pinault Foundation. At the Palazzo Grassi, and the newly restored Punta Della Dogana, works from the François Pinault Foundation; from 6th June to 22nd November.

Venice, Giardini. The 53rd Venice Biennale runs from 7th June to 22nd November; to be reviewed.

Venice, Palazzo Fortuny. The exhibition *In-finitum* is the last of the trilogy of shows organised by the Vervoort Foundation; 6th June to 15th November.

Venice, Peggy Guggenheim Collection. *Robert Rauschenberg: Gluts*, a selection of his sculptures, runs to 20th September.

Vienna, Albertina. *The Age of Rembrandt* is a large survey of 17th-century Dutch works from the permanent collection supplemented by some 40 loans from international collections; to 21st June.

Vienna, Kunsthalle. An exhibition of work by Thomas Ruff; to 13th September.

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. An exhibition devoted to the depiction of interiors in paintings spanning 1500 to 1900 from the permanent collection and on loan from Viennese museums constitutes the swansong of the departing director of the picture gallery, Karl Schütz; to 12th July.

Vienna, Liechtenstein Museum. A loan exhibition exploring the history of the picture frame from the late medieval period to the 19th century includes a recently acquired frame probably designed by Bernini (Fig.87); to 12th January; to be reviewed.

Vienna, Österreichische Galerie Belvedere. The monographic exhibition exploring the work of Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller, seen previously in Paris, runs here from 9th June to 11th October.

Volterra, Palazzo dei Priori. The Flemish painter Pieter de Witte (c.1548–1628) has a show here to 8th November.

Weimar, Bauhaus Museum. A large exhibition celebrating the Bauhaus is on view here, and at the Goethe-Nationalmuseum, the Schiller-Museum, the Neues Museum Weimar and various other locations; to 5th July.

Wuppertal, Von der Heydt-Museum. *Freedom, power and splendour: Dutch art in the 16th and 17th centuries* explores the dichotomy between a country experiencing a golden age and a country continually at war; 21st June to 9th September.

Zürich, Kunsthalle. The exhibition *Albert von Keller. Salons, Séances, Secession* offers a survey of the Munich-based painter; to 4th October.

Zürich, Kunsthaus. A survey exhibition of work by the German sculptor Katharina Fritsch runs here to 30th August.

Zürich, Museum Bellerive. An exhibition of work by the Swiss sculptor Hermann Oberst (1862–1927), a pioneer of Jugendstil while working in Munich around 1900, runs here to 7th June (then in Munich).

New York

Asia Society. The first US museum presentation of the complete five-part film by the Shanghai-based artist Yang Fudong, *Seven Intellectuals in a Bamboo Forest* runs here to 13th September.

Brooklyn Museum. The loan exhibition *Gustave Caillebotte: Impressionist Painter from Paris to the Sea*, seen previously in Bremen and Ordrupgaard and reviewed in the May issue, runs here to 5th July.

Cheim & Read. Paintings by Chantal Joffe are on display to 13th June.

Drawing Center. Works by Unica Zürm (1916–70), the German author and painter associated with Surrealism, are shown alongside documents contextualising her life and work; to 23rd July.

Frick Collection. An exhibition here explores the works by Whistler in the permanent collection; 2nd June to 23rd August.

Gagosian. At 21st Street, a large group of rarely seen late works by Picasso from the collection of Bernard Ruiz-Picasso are shown alongside loans from public and private collections; to 6th June; to be reviewed.

At 24th Street, works by Yayoi Kusama; to 27th June.

Jewish Museum. The touring exhibition *Reclaimed: paintings from the collection of Jacques Goudstikker* runs here to 2nd August.

Knoedler. *Mimmo Rotella. American icons and early works* is on show here to 31st July.

Lehmann Maupin. At 540 W. 26th St., works by the Brazilian artist Adriana Varejão; at 201 Chrystie St., works by Hernan Bas; both to 10th July.

Mary Boone. At 745 Fifth Ave., works by Patty Chang; at 541 W. 24th St., works by Jacob Hashimoto; both to 27th June.

Matthew Marks. Fourteen new paintings by Gary Hume (Fig.88) are on view here to 27th June.

Metropolitan Museum of Art. *Pen and Parchment: the art of drawing in the Middle Ages* includes examples of early maps, artists' sketchbooks and illuminated manuscripts from American and European museums and the national, university and monastic libraries of Europe; 2nd June to 23rd August.

African and Oceanic Art from the Barbier-Mueller Museum, Geneva; 2nd June to 27th September.

Living Line: Selected Indian Drawings from the Subhash Kapoor Gift; to 6th September.

The exhibition *The Pictures Generation* explores the work of artists such as Sherrie Levine, Richard Prince and Cindy Sherman; to 2nd August.

Francis Bacon: A Centenary Retrospective, seen previously in London and Madrid runs here to 16th August.

Mitchell-Innes & Nash. Works by Jessica Stockholder are on view to 13th June.

Morgan Library & Museum. An exhibition here is devoted to the outstanding 18th- and early 19th-century oil-sketches in the collection of Eugene V. and Clare Thaw; to 30th August.

New at the Morgan: Acquisitions Since 2004; to 18th October.

Pages of Gold: Medieval Illuminations from the Morgan; 19th June to 13th September.

Museum of Modern Art. *Tangled Alphabets: León Ferrari and Mira Schendel* explores the work of these two Latin-American artists; to 15th June.

Some 90 works by James Ensor comprise an exhibition running from 28th June to 21st September (then in Paris).

Neue Galerie. The exhibition *Brücke: The Birth of Expressionism in Dresden and Berlin 1905–1913* runs here to the 29th June; it was reviewed in the May issue.

PaceWildenstein. At 534 W. 25th St., selected paintings and tapestries by Chuck Close are on view to 20th June. At 545 W. 22nd St., paintings by Alex Katz can be seen to 13th June. At 32 E. 57th St., works by Tim Hawkinson; to 25th July.

P.S.1 Contemporary Art Center. Sculptural works by Jonathan Horowitz in the manner of Koons are on view to 14th September.

Shepherd & Derom. Works by Man Ray from a private collection are on display to 27th June.



88. *Bouquet*, by Gary Hume. 2009. Enamel on aluminium, 152 by 121 cm. (Matthew Marks Gallery, New York).

Solomon Guggenheim Museum. The Museum celebrates its fiftieth anniversary with an exhibition documenting the life and work of Frank Lloyd Wright; to 23rd August.

Upper East Side. Under the umbrella of *Masterworks of Six Centuries*, nine galleries have mounted exhibitions: *Still Lifes of the Seventeenth through the Nineteenth Centuries* (**Lawrence Steigard Fine Arts**); *Giovanni Battista Piranesi. Carceri, views of Rome, and other subjects* (**David Tunick, Inc.**); *Fine American Paintings, Sculpture and Contemporary Art* (**James Graham & Sons**); *Lyonel Feininger at the Bauhaus* (**Moeller Fine Art**); *Alice Neel. Nudes of the 1930s* (**Zwirner & Wirth**); *Master Drawings and Paintings. Recent Acquisitions* (**Didier Aaron, Inc.**); *Ray Johnson... Dali/Warhol and others...* (**Main Ray, Ducham, Openheim, Pikabia...**) (**Richard L. Feigen & Co.**); *British Adventures in France and Italy. Paintings and Drawings 1750–1850* (**WS Fine Art Ltd./Andrew Wyld**); and *Still Life* (**Dickinson**); all to 30th June.

North America

Baltimore, Walters Art Museum. *Prayers in Code* is an in-focus show presenting a selection of Books of Hours and explores the artistic patronage at the court of Francis I (1494–1547); to 19th July.

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. *Titian, Tintoretto, Veronese: Rivals in Renaissance Venice* runs here to 16th August (then in Paris); to be reviewed.

Chicago, Art Institute. Works by Cy Twombly, 2000–07, are on view to 13th September.

Columbus, Wexner Centre for the Visual Arts. Works by Robin Rhode and four video installations by William Forsythe are displayed to 26th July.

Detroit Institute of Arts. The collection-based exhibition *Learning by Line: The Role of Drawing in the Eighteenth Century* runs to 15th June.

Fort Worth, Kimbell Art Museum. *Art and Love in Renaissance Italy* runs to 14th June; it was reviewed in the February issue.

Houston, Menil Collection. Seen earlier in New York, the exhibition *Marlene Dumas: Measuring your own grave*, is on display here to 21st June.

Works by John Chamberlain; to 2nd August.

Los Angeles County Museum of Art. *Pompeii and the Roman Villa: Art and Culture around the Bay of Naples*, seen previously in Washington, runs here to 4th October.

Your Bright Future: 12 contemporary artists from Korea runs here from 28th June to 20th September.

Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum. The exhibition exploring French bronzes spanning the Renaissance to the Enlightenment, seen earlier in Paris and New York and reviewed in the February issue, runs here from 30th June to 27th September.

Work by the photographers Paul Outerbridge and Jo Anne Callis can be seen to 9th August.

The exhibition *Taking Shape* brings together sculpture and furniture from the collections of Temple Newsam (England) and the J. Paul Getty Museum, with a focus on 17th- and 18th-century Baroque and Rococo objects made in England, France and Italy; to 5th July. It was reviewed at its Leeds's showing in the January issue.

The Museum has acquired a *David with the head of Goliath* by Guido Cagnacci (Fig.89).

Minneapolis, Institute of Arts. Some 60 works by William Holman Hunt are on view here comprising a survey of the artist arranged under the themes of 'Sin and Salvation'; from 14th June to 6th September.

Minneapolis, Walker Art Center. *The Quick and the Dead*; to 27th September.

A retrospective exhibition of work by Yves Klein, the first to tour the US in three decades, is on view here to 27th September (then in San Francisco and Washington).

New Haven, Yale Center for British Art. A small display looks at four works by the French sculptor Jules Dalou executed during his British period (1871–79); 11th June to 23rd August.

Oklahoma, City Museum of Art. Seen earlier in Columbia, the exhibition *Turner to Cézanne: Masterpieces from the Davies Collection*, National Museum Wales is on view here from 25th June to 20th September (then in Syracuse, Washington and Albuquerque).

Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada. The international loan exhibition *From Raphael to Carracci: The Art of Papal Rome* includes some 150 paintings and drawings and runs to 7th September.

The display reconstructing Veronese's Petrobelli altarpiece, seen earlier in London, runs here to 7th September (then in Blanton).

San Francisco, Museum of Modern Art. The exhibition *Georgia O'Keeffe and Ansel Adams: Natural Affinities* is on view to 7th September.

Seattle Art Museum. Paintings by a range of post-War artists comprise the exhibition *Target Practice: Painting Under Attack 1949–78*; from 25th June to 7th September.

Tulsa, Philbrook Museum of Art. Seen earlier at Pittsburgh and Evanston, *From Michelangelo to Annibale Carracci: A Century of Italian Drawings from the Prado*, runs here to 5th July.

Vancouver Art Gallery. *Vermeer, Rembrandt, and the Golden Age of Dutch Art: Treasures from the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam*; to 13th September.

Washington, Arthur M. Sackler Gallery. *The Tsars and the East: Gifts from Turkey and Iran in The Moscow Kremlin*; to 13th September.

Washington, National Gallery of Art. A monographic show devoted to Luis Meléndez runs here to 23rd August (then in Los Angeles and Boston).

Judith Leyster's *Self-portrait* is the focal point of a small exhibition commemorating the artist's 400th birthday and includes ten of Leyster's finest works from American and European collections; 21st June to 29th November.

The Art of Power: Royal Armor and Portraits from Imperial Spain juxtaposes 17th-century portraits of Spanish rulers from the permanent collection with armour on loan from the Spanish Royal Armoury, Madrid; 28th June to 1st November.

Washington, National Portrait Gallery. *Inventing Marcel Duchamp: The Dynamics of Portraiture* assembles some 100 portraits and self-portraits by the French artist, including works by contemporaries and also the obligatory annex of contemporary works inspired by Duchamp, from Warhol to Gordon; to 2nd August.

Reflections/Refractions: Self-Portraiture in the Twentieth Century; to 16th August.

Washington, Phillips Collection. Seen earlier in Nashville, the exhibition *Paint made Flesh* is on view here from 20th June to 13th September.

Australia

Brisbane, Gallery of Modern Art. A tripartite display considering contemporary Chinese art includes a display of work from the collection of the Queensland Art Gallery, works by the painter Zhang Xiaogang and photographs by the performance artist William Yang; to 28th June.

Brisbane, Queensland Gallery of Art. The first exhibition to present a survey of paintings by the Chinese artist Zhang Xiaogang runs here to 28th June.

Melbourne, Australian Centre for Contemporary Art. A survey of work by Tacita Dean runs here from 6th June to 2nd August.

Melbourne, Heide Museum of Modern Art. Modern Times: The Untold Story of Modernism in Australia traces the impact of Modernism on the country between 1917 and 1967; to 12th July.

Sydney, Art Gallery of New South Wales. *Intensely Dutch: image, abstraction and the word* presents the work of post-War Dutch artists associated with CoBrA and art informel, as well as those who preceded them, such as Willem de Kooning; 5th June to 23rd August.

Asia

Beijing, Ullens Centre for Contemporary Art. Works by the Thai-born Japanese artist Navin Rawanchaikul are on view here to 13th June.

An exhibition of work by the Dijon-based artist Yan Pei-Ming comprises some 150 paintings; from 18th June to 13th September.

Kyoto, Municipal Museum. Seen previously in Tokyo, *Masterpieces of 17th-century European art from the Louvre* runs here from 30th June to 27th September.

Osaka, National Museum of Art. An exhibition of some 200 works on loan from the Louvre explores the image of the child in European art; 23rd June to 23rd September.

Seoul, Museum of Art. The exhibition *Art & Synesthesia* comprises newly commissioned works by 24 artists on the theme of the five senses; to 7th July.

Shanghai, Shanghai Museum. *Henri Matisse and Lydia Delectorskaya: Works by Matisse from the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts* is on view here to 31st July.

June sales

London, Bonhams (Bond St.). British and European glass (3rd); Modern and contemporary Middle Eastern and South Asian art (3rd); The Russian sale (8th); Design from 1860 (10th); Continental furniture and works of art (17th); Impressionist and modern art (23rd); English furniture and works of art (24th).

London, Bonhams (Knightsbridge). British and Continental pictures (2nd); Silver and objects of vertu (3rd); Furniture and works of art (9th).

London, Christie's (King St.). Silver, European ceramics, portrait miniatures and gold boxes (2nd); English furniture and clocks (4th); Victorian and British Impressionist art (4th); Russian art (9th); A private European collection (17th); Impressionist and modern art (23rd and 24th); Photographs (29th); Post-War and contemporary art (30th).

London, Christie's (South Kensington). South Asian modern and contemporary art (10th); Russian art (11th).

London, Sotheby's (Bond St.). 19th- and 20th-century European sculpture (2nd); 19th-century European paintings (3rd); Russian art (8th to 10th); Indian art (16th); Impressionist and modern art (24th and 25th).

New York, Christie's. 20th-century decorative art and design (2nd); Antiquities (3rd); Old-masters and 19th-century art (4th); European furniture, works of art, ceramics, tapestries and oriental carpets (9th).

New York, Sotheby's. Old-master paintings, European sculpture and antiquities (4th); Old-master and 19th-century European art (5th); 20th-century design (12th).



89. *David with the head of Goliath*, by Guido Cagnacci. c.1645–50. Canvas, 108 by 85.5 cm. (J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles).

Forthcoming Fairs

Art Basel. Modern and contemporary art; 10th to 14th June.

London, Grosvenor House Art and Antiques Fair. 11th to 17th June.

London, International Ceramics Fair and Seminar. 11th to 14th June.

London, Master Drawings in London. Old-master drawings; 1st to 31st June.

London, Olympia Art and Antiques Fair. 4th to 14th June.

London Sculpture Week. 12th to 19th June.

Notes on contributors

Candace J. Adelson is the Senior Curator of Fashion and Textiles at Tennessee State Museum. Her book *European Tapestry in the Minneapolis Institute of Arts* was published in 1994.

Reinier Baarsen is Senior Curator of Furniture at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. He is currently writing *Parisian Decorative Arts 1650–1900 at the Rijksmuseum*, due to be published in 2013.

Nicoletta Baldini teaches at the Fondazione Roberto Longhi, Florence, and is a co-editor of the forthcoming catalogue of 15th- and 16th-century central Italian paintings in the Galleria Palatina, Florence.

Roberta Bartoli is currently an associate member at the Kunsthistorisches Institut – Max Planck Institute in Florence, where she is working on a complete catalogue of painted cassoni.

Christian Baulez is a former Conservateur at the Musée national des châteaux de Versailles. His book *Versailles deux siècles d'histoire de l'art* was published in 2007.

Koenraad Brosens is a Postdoctoral Fellow of the Flemish Science Foundation (FWO-Vlaanderen) and an Associate Professor at the University of Leuven. His book *European Tapestries in the Art Institute of Chicago* (2008) is reviewed on p.402 above.

Meghan Callahan is an independent researcher based in London. She is writing a book on the architectural patronage of Suor Domenica da Paradiso, a sixteenth-century mystic who built the convent of La Crocetta in Florence.

Lynne Cooke is Curator at Large, Dia Art Foundation, New York, and Chief Curator and Deputy Director, Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofia, Madrid.

Nicholas Cullinan is Assistant Curator at Tate Modern, London, and is currently writing a monograph on Cy Twombly.

Gillian Darley is an Associate Tutor at the Centre for Editing Lives and Letters at Queen Mary College, London.

Morgan Falconer is a critic and journalist and writes regularly for *The Times*, *Art World* and *Frieze*.

Alexandra Gajewski is currently lecturing at the Courtauld Institute of Art, London, and the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Simon Swynfen Jervis is an independent scholar and Chairman of the Furniture History Society, the Walpole Society and the Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum.

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James Lawrence is currently researching spatial values in post-War sculpture.

Anne Leader is currently Rush H. Kress Fellow at Villa I Tatti, The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, where she is undertaking a comparative analysis of Florentine tomb monuments, c.1250–1480. Her first book, *Reforming the Florentine Badia: Art and Observance in a Renaissance Monastery* is forthcoming in 2010.

Todd Longstaffe-Gowan is a gardener and landscape historian. He is currently writing a history of the London Square, c.1600 to the present, to be published in 2012.

Philip McEvansoneya is a lecturer in the History of Art at Trinity College Dublin.

Lisa Monnas is an independent researcher and a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. Her book, *Merchants, Princes and Painters: Silk Fabric in Italian and Northern Painting 1300–1550*, will be published in spring 2009.

Anne Neale is Co-ordinator of History and Theory in the School of Architecture and Design at the University of Tasmania. Her current research focuses on three figures associated with the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood: Edward La Trobe Bateman, Anna Mary Howitt and Charles Allston Collins.

Nicholas Penny is Director of the National Gallery, London. His current research focuses on Italian painting, European sculpture and the history of collections.

Julia Poole is Keeper of Applied Art at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

J.M. Rogers is currently Curator of the Khalil Collection of Islamic Art. He is a contributor to and editor of *Islamic Jewellery* by Michael Spink (forthcoming).

Willibald Sauerländer's best-known publication is *Gotische Skulptur in Frankreich* (1970) and he is a former Director of the Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, Munich.

Karen Serres is the Robert H. Smith Research Curator in the Department of Sculpture and Decorative Arts at the National Gallery of Art, Washington.

Tim Stanley is Senior Curator for the Middle Eastern collections at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. He is currently working on the redevelopment of the V. & A.'s Ceramics Galleries, the first phase of which opens in September 2009.

Andrew Wilton has recently contributed to the catalogue *Paintings from the Reign of Victoria: The Royal Holloway Collection, London*, and to the catalogue of the exhibition *Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller* currently at the Belvedere, Vienna.

Next month's issue

The July issue of the Magazine is devoted to twentieth-century art with articles on: Oskar Kokoschka's *Prometheus triptych*, Oskar Schlemmer's painting *Bauhaustreppe* (1932), Stuart Davis and politics and recent exhibitions and books on Kandinsky. Art History Reviewed II: Heinrich Wölfflin.

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